

## A CASE OF PTOLEMAIC *QUID PRO QUO* FROM THE PHAIES ARCHIVE\*

*Abstract:* Edition of a Ptolemaic *hypomnema* belonging to the Phaies archive (late III BC). The document comes from cartonnage W.M.F. Petrie unearthed at Gurob in 1889 and preserves a request that involves *quid pro quo*.

UC 31916, a *hypomnema* that is currently housed in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, was excavated by W.M.F. Petrie in 1889 while working in the necropolis at Gurob.<sup>1</sup> Since it was recovered from mummy-cartonnage, traces of white and red gesso are still visible on the papyrus. While much of the cartonnage salvaged from this excavation was published not long after its discovery,<sup>2</sup> it was not until 1980 that the present papyrus was dismantled and separated from one of the mummies' breast plates from the 1889 find.<sup>3</sup> Among the papyri initially retrieved and published from Gurob were two late third-century BC petitions addressed to a certain Phaies (Φαιῖς): *P. Petr.* II 10.1 (ca. 221–205 BC) and *P. Petr.* II 10.2 (ca. 221–205).<sup>4</sup> Since UC 31916 is also written to a Phaies — a name which is seldom attested elsewhere (see n. 1 below) — it is likely the same person; in addition, all three petitions invoke Phaies' authority to grant requests of various kinds. Therefore, it seems that at one point these three documents belonged to an archive that was subsequently divided up and reused as cartonnage in the necropolis at Gurob.<sup>5</sup>

\* We would like to thank Alice Stevenson, former Curator of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, for permission to edit and publish an edition of this papyrus and Tracey Golding, Visitor Services Officer, for permission to image the papyrus. We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this article for their comments and suggestions that have greatly improved it.

<sup>1</sup> *P. Petr.* I, p. 9–13. The plate that encases the present papyrus has a note that reads “Petrie Cartonnage inv. 1B/G3” and “From Gurob”.

<sup>2</sup> Mostly in the *P. Petr.* I–III, *P. Petrie*<sup>2</sup> I and *P. Petrie Kleon*.

<sup>3</sup> The inventory registrar for this piece reports that it came from the same cartonnage as UC 31907 (= *SB XVI* 12468), which was subsequently published by Turner & Cockle (1982) 272–276. In this article (p. 272) Turner and Cockle report that in 1980 a UC London team working under A.P. Mathias were able to demount a mummy breast-plate using proteolytic enzymes as solvent and were able to recover a number of pieces, Greek and Demotic, from this cartonnage.

<sup>4</sup> For the dating of *P. Petr.* II 10.1 and *P. Petr.* II 10.2 see *Pros. Ptol.* I 268, 1091, and Uebel (1968) 249 n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> There is a note with the papyrus that reads: “This is part of the same correspondence as *P. Petrie* II X, (1) and (2)”. With the addition of the present text, these three documents

The *hypomnema*, sent by a man named Dositheos, is intact in its entirety and is written in dark brown ink along the fibers.<sup>6</sup> Although the first line is partially damaged, as deterioration has eroded the upper parts of certain letters, it is still legible and contains the opening address. Overall the text displays characteristics indicative of Ptolemaic scripts<sup>7</sup> and is written in a semi-cursive style where letters are often connected without the lift of the pen.<sup>8</sup> Orthographically the writer interchanges ο > υ in one instance (l. 6) and employs the iota adscript only in l. 3 after α,<sup>9</sup> morphologically there is one instance where the dative case is used where the accusative is expected (l. 3), and syntactically he employs a textbook example of a future more vivid conditional clause: ἐὰν καταστήσης ... ὠφελήσω σε (ll. 2-5).<sup>10</sup> However, in the apodosis there seems to be a curious grammatical structure as ὠφελέω is followed by a double accusative: (ll. 5-7) ὠφελήσω σε ... πλήθη ἱκανά. While the form σε is expected,<sup>11</sup> the following accusative πλήθη is difficult to classify. We are either dealing with an accusative of respect or with a missing complementary infinitive;<sup>12</sup> we are inclined toward the first option because it is more economical and it seems unlikely that the writer would accidentally omit the infinitive at such a crucial point in the text.

The document is concise and straightforward both in its form and content as its body consists of a single sentence — albeit a fairly lengthy one. The brevity of the document suggests a certain haste in delivering the message, and implies a degree of acquaintance between the sender

may now be properly called an archive (i.e. Archive of Phaies). This newly established archive was not included in Vidorpe e.a. (2015) because previously there were only two published documents addressing Phaies (see p. 16).

<sup>6</sup> Average line height is 1.3 cm. The papyrus is mounted between two sheets of glass with graph paper on the back. While we were not able to examine the backside of the papyrus, it is doubtful that it contains any text.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. lines are well spaced and letters are written with thick angular strokes, which are generally quite broad and give the appearance of being suspended from a uniform top line.

<sup>8</sup> Notable letterforms include particularly small thetas and omicrons, large inclining epsilons, both triangular and rounded deltas. The descender of rho, phi, and upsilon contains serifs and raised nus appear at the end of certain words (l. 1, ἐάν; l. 7, ἄλλων; l. 8, ἐπιτίμων).

<sup>9</sup> On the use of the iota adscript in third-century BC papyri see Clarysse (1976).

<sup>10</sup> Smyth (1956) 523 (§ 2323).

<sup>11</sup> E.g. *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59520.6 (III BC): ἐξ ὧν σε ὠφελήσω; *P. Mich.* VIII 498.6-7 (AD II): ἡ σύστασις σου πολὺ με ὠφέλησε. See also Smyth (1956) 339 (§ 1462). Although ὠφελέω can occasionally take the dative case of the person (§ 1591a), this emendation would not help clarify the following accusatives.

<sup>12</sup> If the complementary infinitive is missing one might expect a verb comparable to κερδαίνω: cf. Mark 8:36, τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἄνθρωπον κερδεῖν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον ...

and addressee, or at the very least a previous interaction regarding the matter. Dositheos writes to Phaies, whom we know to be an οἰκονόμος from the two other petitions addressed to him, something that almost seems to be a semi-formal request to join the ἐφοδεία.<sup>13</sup> In exchange for this position, Phaies is promised goods; hence, we are dealing with an instance of *quid pro quo*.

If this *hypomnema* is indeed disclosing a case of *quid pro quo* — perhaps bordering on bribery — it is not unique.<sup>14</sup> Already in the Pharaonic and Persian periods there are instances where promises of money were made in exchange for the appointment to certain offices.<sup>15</sup> In fact, at approximately the same time that the present papyrus was written, *P. Berlin* 13543 (Demotic; possibly written 11 Aug. 219 BC) preserves a strikingly similar case of *quid pro quo*; in this letter a certain Eskhnumpetmet writes to the governor of Tshetres and asks him to intervene on behalf of his application for the office of *lesonis* in the Temple at Khum and pledges a sum of money in return.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, as one moves into the Roman period similar examples can be found. In *P. Mich.* III 203 (early AD II) a soldier named Saturnilos intends to offer money to secure an assignment on the *cursus publicus*, but fears a “useless expense” (ἐκ ἐνὶ κενῇ δαπάνῃ) if he pays the wrong officer.<sup>17</sup> At roughly the same

<sup>13</sup> Since the οἰκονόμος was the person to whom Dositheos appeals in order to be appointed to the ἐφοδεία, it is possible to infer that the ἐφοδεία was an office subordinate to and under the supervision of the οἰκονόμος. On the various responsibilities (administrative, judicial, financial) of the Ptolemaic οἰκονόμος see Berneker (1935) 94–102. For his judicial powers in particular see Bauschatz (2013) 128–129; cf. Samuel (1966) 444–450. For other examples of Ptolemaic *hypomnemata* and Demotic *mqmq* in which a petition is being made for the police force see *PUG* III 101 (ca. 221 BC), *PUG* III 102 (ca. 221 BC), *SB* XIV 11860 (II/I BC), *P. Loeb* 40 = 53 = 66 (III–I BC).

<sup>14</sup> Clarysse & Thompson (2006) 175 give a brief description of this unpublished text in which they hint at the fact that the office of *ephodos* was “worth having”, perhaps implying that there was some degree of bribery taking place to obtain it.

<sup>15</sup> In Papyrus Salt 124, from the twentieth dynasty, it is alleged that a certain Penēb had bribed the vizier to become a “chief-workman”; see Černý (1929) 253. In Elephantine Papyrus B14 (late V BC) an allegation of bribery is also made; see discussion in Porten (2011) 128.

<sup>16</sup> Zauzich (1978); cf. Porten (2011) 310–311 (C11). Similarly, during the Ptolemaic period (II BC) there are two documents wherein a certain Petehyris, most probably a prisoner, tries “by promises of Baksheesh”, as U. Wilcken appropriately remarks, to buy his freedom; Wilcken (1903) 579 [commenting on *P. Cair.Goodspeed*. 5 and *P. Grenf.* I 41]: “Unser Petehyris versuchte also durch Versprechung von Bakschisch die Freiheit zu gewinnen”. For other examples of Ptolemaic *quid pro quo* see Crawford (1974) 175 n. 27. Likewise, it is well known that Ptolemy XII “Auletes” (80–51 BC) resorted to bribery to secure Roman support.

<sup>17</sup> On this interpretation see Youtie (1976) 291.

time, in *P. Mich.* VIII 468 (Latin; early AD II) another soldier named Terentianus informs his father via letter that, if he hopes to get transferred to a cohort, he will have to pay some money for the promotion.<sup>18</sup> Whether or not the present text concerns what might rightly be classified as bribery (δωροκοπία), paying for offices in both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods was a matter of concern for higher officials who were constantly trying to curb the practice in order to limit corruption.<sup>19</sup>

Gurob            13.0 cm × 11.5 cm (H × W)    Late III BC

Φαιῖι παρὰ Δωσιθέου.  
 ἐάν με καταστή-  
 σης πρὸς τῇ ἐφοδεΐαι  
 δούς μοι μαχίμους  
 5 ὠφελήσω σε ἐξ ἐμ-  
 πυρίας σίτου πλήθη  
 ἱκανὰ καὶ ἄλλων  
 ἐπιτίμων ἅ σοι προς-  
 ῆκει. (vac.) εὐτύχει.

3. *l.* τὴν ἐφοδεΐαν. 5–6. *l.* ἐμπορίας.

To Phaies from Dositheos. If you appoint me to the *ephodeia*, having supplied me with *machimoi*, I will provide you with a considerable amount of wheat from commerce and with other valuable goods that befit you. Farewell.

### Notes

- 1 Φαιῖι. The same dative form of Φαιῖς appears in *P. Petr.* II 10.1.1 and *P. Petr.* II 10.2.1 that are a part of this archive, although, as noted above, in these two petitions he is addressed as Φαιῖι οἰκονόμωι. On the whole, this Egyptian name occurs only a handful of times, all of which appear in documents from the third or second century BC, and most of these are from the Arsinoite: *P. Gur.* 22.1.2

<sup>18</sup> Il. 35-41: *et si deus volueret spero me frugaliter [v]iciturum et in cohortem [tra]nsferri. hic a[ut]em sene aer[e] [ni]hil fiet neque epistulae commandaticiae nihil val(eb)unt nesi si qui sibi aiutaveret* (“And if god should be willing, I hope to live frugally and to be transferred to a cohort; but here nothing will be accomplished without money, and letters of recommendation will have no value unless a man help himself”). See also *P. Fay.* 117 (AD 109) where a gift of olives and fish was made to a local official to gain favorable decisions.

<sup>19</sup> Monson (2012) 231-232.

(III BC); *P. Gur.* 24.1.2 (III BC); *SB* XII 10861 Fr. D2.51 and Fr. H.96 (mid III BC); *SB* XII 10862.10 (mid III BC); *P. Lille* I 5.16 (260/59 BC); cf. *P. Tebt.* I 72B.26 (114/13 BC): Φαιεῖ.

παρὰ Δωσιθέου. The name of the sender is partially illegible as it is written along the top margin of the papyrus that has been subject to damage. In the brief inventory for this text in the Petrie Museum it is titled “Letter of Doras to Phaies”, but the name Doras cannot be read. The first two letters δω are clear, and appear to be followed by a faint sigma and then a vertical hasta that resembles iota or possibly a descender of a rho; while there are parallels with certain rhos (ll. 3 and 6), it is also similar to the first iota earlier in this line. While the next two letters are difficult to securely identify, the first has a rounded oblong shape with a slight tilt to the right and appears to be a theta; the next letter is mostly lost in a break that comes down from the top of the papyrus, but it appears to have a lunate form and could be read as epsilon. Therefore, the most economical reading of the name is Δωσιθέου — a name well attested in the Arsinoite in the Ptolemaic period.

- 3 πρὸς τῇ ἐφοδεΐᾳ. The term ἐφοδεΐα is attested in Polybius 6.35.8 where it indicates the duty of “going the rounds” in a military context. When ἐφοδεΐα/ἐφοδεύω appear in *P. Tebt* III.1 703 (210 BC) they refer to the office of the inspectorate. In Ptolemaic Egypt the inspectorate was most likely under the jurisdiction of the “tax controller” (οἰκονόμος), the position which Phaies held (cf. *P. Petr.* II 10.1; *P. Petr.* II 10.2). In fact, as Monson (2012) 232 notes, one of the duties of the οἰκονόμος was “to travel frequently within his nome on rounds of inspections”. Cf. *BGU* VIII 1780.16 (ca. 57-50 BC); *BGU* VIII 1832.6 (51 BC); *P. Tebt.* I 96.3 (ca. 95-61 BC); *P. Tebt.* I 120.28 (ca. 97-64 BC); *P. Tebt.* I 257 (ca. 100-76 BC); *UPZ* II 204.1 (134 BC). The ἐφοδοί also performed some policing: Clarysse & Thompson (2006) 174-175; Bauschatz (2013) 148-149. See further Clarysse & Thompson, Fs. S.P. Vleeming (*Pap. Lugd. Bat.*, in press); here they publish a new fragment of *P. Count* 2, where in ll. 659-662 a total of 34 *ephodoi* (3wphwtws) is given for an administrative unit of 12,000 tax-payers, alongside more than 100 *kalasiries* and 370 *phylakitai* (n. to l. 659): “The word 3wphwtws is written as a Greek loan-word (with a person determinative) and in a very explicit way. *Ephodoi* are found in only three of the five districts. This identification is supported by the identical figure for *ephodoi* in

district B in the Greek part of the text (*P. Count* 3, l. 34). This Greek loanword is also found in an unpublished Demotic petition found in the Italian-French excavations at Tebtynis: inv. B 7409 (to be published by Kim Ryholt). For *ephodoi* we prefer the translation ‘police-man for the road’ to ‘itinerant inspector’; cf. *P. Count* 2, p. 168 (for both).”

- 4 μαχίμους. The term μάχιμος is employed by Herodotus with the generic meaning of “fighting man” and in a few instances it is associated with Egypt (2.141, 164). In a later period, it evolved in meaning to indicate native Egyptian troops: *P. Yale* I p. 86-90; cf. Fischer-Bovet (2014) 162-166. Under Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-204 BC) the μάχιμοι became part of the territorial army and were granted cleruchic status by being allotted small plots of land (from 5 to 30 arouras). It is clear from *SB XVI* 12468 (III BC) that μάχιμοι performed police duties in the third century BC and it might be possible to assume that they were under the direction of the οἰκονόμος due to the fact that Dositheos, who was petitioning for the ἐφοδεία, requests them from Phaies.
- 5-6 ἐξ ἐμπυρίας. On the ο > υ interchange in unaccented syllables see Gignac (1976) 293. While ἐμπορία can have the meaning of “merchandise”, it typically refers more generally to “business”, “commerce”, or “trade” (s.v. LSJ). This usage is borne out in some papyri when the term does occur: e.g. *P. Giss.* I 9.2-3 (ca. AD 113-120): τοῦ ἀνδρός μου | [- ca.13 - Π]ετῆσιπῶτο[ς] ἀποστάντ[ος] εἰς Ὀᾶσιν ἐμπορίας χάριν (“When my husband [NN son of] Peteesipos was away in the Oasis on account of business”). Most likely the ἐμπορία that is being referred to in the present document can be taken in the sense of “errand” or “journeying” as it pertains to business or commerce (s.v. LSJ). Thus, Dositheos appears to be promising Phaies that from his business on the ἐφοδεία — an office that is explicitly involved with inspection and making rounds — he will provide him with much wheat. Clarysse & Thompson (2006) 175 translate ἐμπορία as “market”, but we do not feel this is the best rendering; for “market” one would rather expect ἐμπόριον and not ἐμπορία.
- 6-7 σίτου πλήθη ἱκανά. Cf. *P. Lille* I 3.76 (216/15 BC): [ ]ίτου ἱκανὰ πλήθη.
- 7-9 ἄλλων ἐπιτίμων ἃ σοι προσήκει. Variations of the phrase ἄλλων ἐπιτίμων typically occur in leases, contracts, or sales, and are almost always followed by a sum of money to denote a monetary fine or penalty: e.g. *BGU* IV 1058.40-41 (13 BC): καὶ τὰ βλάβη καὶ

δαπανήματα καὶ ἄλλο ἐπίτιμον ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) φ (“... and damages and expenses and another fine of 500 drachmas, ...”). See Berger (1911) 4-14; Wolff (1941) 426-433. Here, however, the phrase departs from the customary usage and instead of denoting a penalty it is indicating something of value; on this meaning of the term ἐπίτιμος see Agath. 1.8.4. Here we take ἄλλων ἐπιτίμων as a partitive genitive.

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# VOM ÄGYPTISCHEN LOKALGOTT ZUR GRIECHISCHEN UNIVERSALGOTTHEIT: SARAPIS ALS HEIL- UND ORAKELGOTT IN DER PTOLEMÄERZEIT\*

*Abstract:* This paper is a detailed study of the development of Sarapis into an oracular and healing god during the Ptolemaic Period (320–30 BCE). It tries to answer the question why a god with obvious Egyptian roots could gain such popularity among the Greeks.

Sarapis developed from the Memphite local god Osorapis who was especially an oracular deity. He was very popular amongst the Ionian and Carian people who had been living in Memphis from the sixth century BCE onwards. However, the god took on a Greek persona. Furthermore, Sarapis adopted features from different other gods. Among them was the healing god Imhotep-Asclepios who had great significance in Memphis.

The cult spread rapidly into the Mediterranean world. In different places, Sarapis was honoured as a healing and oracular god, alone or together with Asclepios. The local inhabitants perceived Sarapis as an Egyptian god because very often Egyptians led the cult and some cultic sites were organized according to the Egyptian model.

## VORBEMERKUNGEN

Gesundheit und Krankheit gehören zu den existenziellsten Dingen des Lebens. Es liegt daher auf der Hand, dass sich die Menschen der Antike an verschiedenste Gottheiten wandten, um Heilung von Krankheiten zu

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erlangen. Nun fällt aber auf, dass ab dem Beginn des 3. Jh. v.Chr. neben den traditionellen griechischen Heilgöttern wie z.B. Asklepios, Apollo, Hygieia und Demeter ausgerechnet der Gott Sarapis, der eindeutig ägyptische Ursprünge hatte, eine enorme Popularität gewann. Sarapis gilt als Universalgottheit, der in sich mehrere unterschiedliche Funktionen vereinigt. Dazu zählt auch sein Wirken als Heilgott. Dieser Aspekt wurde in der ansonsten sehr umfangreichen Forschungsliteratur zu Sarapis nur unzureichend behandelt. Die folgende Untersuchung soll sich nun diesem bisher vernachlässigten Gegenstand widmen. Ich beschränke mich in diesem Aufsatz zunächst auf die Ptolemäerzeit, um dann in einer weiteren Untersuchung auch die Verbreitung und die Charakteristika des Kultes in der römischen Kaiserzeit zu analysieren.

Wir stehen vor dem Problem, dass es keine ausführlicheren Berichte über die Rolle von Sarapis als Heil- und Orakelgott gibt, sondern nur kurze Erwähnungen bei verschiedenen antiken Autoren. Darüber hinaus sind viele dieser Berichte nicht zeitgenössisch.<sup>1</sup> Auch die bekannten Erzählungen über die Einführung des Sarapis in Ägypten von Tacitus und Plutarch helfen nur bedingt weiter, zumal sie erst aus der römischen Kaiserzeit stammen und daher die Verhältnisse im 1./2. Jh. n.Chr. widerspiegeln.<sup>2</sup>

Unsere wichtigsten Quellen sind daher griechische Inschriften und Papyri, die Erzählungen über die Gründungsgeschichte des jeweiligen Heiligtums enthalten.<sup>3</sup> Weitere Inschriften bezeugen, dass in den Heiligtümern Traumdeuter tätig sein konnten, dass Personen diese aufsuchten, um Hilfe im Krankheitsfall zu finden und sich dafür erkenntlich zeigten. Im Fall von Sarapis gibt es leider auch keine Heilwunderberichte wie im Asklepioskult.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zeitgenössisch sind folgende Berichte: Strab. 17.1.17; Varro *Men. frg.* 152 (Cèbe 144); frg. 138 (Cèbe 147); frg. 128 (Cèbe 145); vgl. Krenkel (2002) und Cèbe (1977); Cic. *Div.* 2.123.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *hist.* 4.83-84; Plut. *Is.* 28-29 (361e-362e); Erwähnung findet die Einführung des Sarapis auch bei: Plut. *De sollertia animalium* 36 (984a); Clem. Al. *Protrepticus* 4.48.1-6; Theoph. *Ad Autolyicum* 1.9.20; Cyril. *Contra Iulianum* 1.16. Die Gründungsgeschichten sind in der Forschungsliteratur sehr umstritten und um eine Interpretation wird nach wie vor gerungen. Ausführlich werden sie besprochen bei: Borgeaud & Volokhine (2000) und Quack & Paarman (2013), insbesondere 255-278.

<sup>3</sup> Memphis: *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59034 (Ort nicht sicher; s.u.); Delos: *RICIS* 202/0101 = *IG* XI.4 1299. Literaturangaben zu diesen Texten werden weiter unten bei der Besprechung aufgeführt. Ein ähnlicher Gründungstext wurde in Thessaloniki gefunden. Er stammt allerdings erst aus dem 1. Jh. n.Chr. und behandelt die Gründung des Heiligtums in Opus (*RICIS* 113/0537 = *IG* X.2 255).

<sup>4</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>.1 121-124; Paus. 2.27.3 berichtet von sechs Stelen über Wunderberichte des Asklepios, die er in Epidauros gesehen haben will; vgl. Herzog (1931). Möglicherweise gab

Von manchen dieser Heiligtümer sind archäologische Überreste erhalten oder Erwähnungen bei dem griechischen Reiseschriftsteller Pausanias, die dann zusammen mit den dort möglicherweise erhaltenen Inschriften darauf hindeuten, dass ägyptische Götter verehrt wurden.<sup>5</sup> Oftmals sind die ursprünglich in hellenistischer Zeit gegründeten Heiligtümer in der römischen Kaiserzeit überbaut worden. Es ist allerdings schwierig zu bestimmen, ob es sich tatsächlich um Heilheiligtümer handelt.

Die Menge an Literatur über Sarapis ist geradezu überbordend.<sup>6</sup> Geklärt ist heutzutage weitgehend, dass die Figur des Gottes Sarapis auf den memphitischen Lokalgott Osorapis zurückgeht.<sup>7</sup> Unterschiedliche Ansichten bestehen jedoch über die Gründe für die Einführung des Gottes. Lange Zeit wurde angenommen, dass die Figur des Sarapis von Ptolemaios I. Soter geschaffen wurde, um Griechen und Ägypter im Kult zu vereinen. Diese Theorie geht auf Otto Weinreich zurück und wurde später von Ulrich Wilcken aufgegriffen und untermauert.<sup>8</sup> Noch bis in die 50er und 60er Jahre hinein wurde die These von Wilcken nicht angezweifelt; sie wird z.T. noch heute in Überblickswerken der Ptolemäerzeit vertreten.<sup>9</sup> Sie widerspricht aber den Quellen, denn eine solch massive

es aber auch im Fall von Sarapis solche Berichte. Sie könnten Eingang in die Tiergeschichten von Aelian gefunden haben (Ail. *nat.* 11.31-35); vgl. dazu Weinreich (1909) 122-123.

<sup>5</sup> Sarapis- und Isisheiligtümer bei Kleibl (2009); vgl. auch Bommas (2005).

<sup>6</sup> Eine Auswahl der wichtigsten Literatur: grundlegend immer noch Wilcken (1927) 18-37, 77-95 sowie 643-646; Fraser (1960), Fraser (1967) und zusammenfassend Fraser (1972) im monumentalen Werk über das Ptolemäische Alexandrien, 246-276; Kessler (1989) 81-85 und Kessler (2000) (ägyptologische Sicht); Huß (1994) 58-68; Borgeaud & Volokhine (2000) (insbesondere zu den Gründungsgeschichten); Huß (2001) 241-248 (mit umfangreichen Literaturangaben); Malaise (2005) 128-139 und 164-166; Schmidt (2005) (zu den ptolemäischen Bildnissen); Clarysse & Paganini (2006) (Namensbildungen mit Sarapis); Caroli (2007) 309-353 (Zusammenfassung); Pfeiffer (2008) (Verhältnis zum Herrscherkult); Veymiers (2009) 13-18 (Vorwort zu den Untersuchungen über Darstellungen des Sarapis auf Gemmen und antiken Schmuckstücken); Bergmann (2010); Devauchelle (2010) und Devauchelle (2012) (Verhältnis zu Osiris); Fassa (2013); Quack & Paarman (2013); Smith (2017) 390-420 (vor allem Verhältnis zu Osiris — konnte nicht mehr für die vorliegende Arbeit verwendet werden).

<sup>7</sup> Diese These wurde vor allem von Wilcken (1927) 25-29 und 77-95 sowie 643-646 (Nachträge) entwickelt. Es bestanden aber lange Zeit durchaus noch andere Theorien, nämlich, dass er aus dem Ausland eingeführt oder künstlich geschaffen wurde. Vgl. dazu ausführlich Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 229-233. Die Theorie, wonach bereits Alexander der Große den Sarapiskult eingeführt haben könnte, ist heute widerlegt; vgl. dazu Caneva (2016b) 208-214.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Weinreich (1919) 4-5; Wilcken (1927) 85; Schubart (1914) 668 und Schubart (1918) 339 wies die Theorie zurück, konnte sich aber mit seiner Ansicht nicht durchsetzen.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Worthington (2016) 136: "The new god he introduced to help unite his Greek and Egyptian people." Der Autor räumt allerdings im Anschluss an Fassa (2013) ein (199),

Einflussnahme der Ptolemäer auf den Sarapiskult lässt sich nicht nachweisen. Vielmehr lässt sich zeigen, wie wir weiter unten sehen werden, dass die Gründung von Sarapisheiligtümern in der Ptolemäerzeit auf die Initiative von hochstehenden Privatleuten zurückging. Zudem erscheint der Name des Gottes Sarapis erst ab Ptolemaios III. Euergetes in der Formel des Königseides.<sup>10</sup>

Seit den 60er Jahren des 20. Jh. wurden unterschiedliche Theorien entwickelt:<sup>11</sup> Peter M. Fraser macht deutlich, dass es sich beim Sarapiskult vornehmlich um einen Kult für die Griechen bzw. die hellenisierte Bevölkerung gehandelt hat.<sup>12</sup> Marianne Bergmann betont, dass das Königshaus großes Interesse an der Verbreitung des Kultes hatte, da somit die Beziehungen zur alten Hauptstadt Memphis und den dortigen Priesterschaften gefestigt werden konnten.<sup>13</sup> Möglicherweise bestand sogar eine Verbindung zum Herrscherkult, den Stefan Pfeiffer als Mittel sieht, um die Bevölkerung in Ägypten und die Soldaten in den ptolemäischen Besitzungen an das Herrscherhaus zu binden.<sup>14</sup> Joachim F. Quack zeigt wiederum, dass im ägyptischen Bereich der Gott Sarapis weiterhin der speziell memphitische Lokalgott Osorapis blieb und Sarapis nur dann auftrat, wenn Ägypter im Kontakt mit staatlichen Stellen standen. Er wäre also, so Quack, oktroyiert und nicht im ägyptischen Milieu heimisch geworden.<sup>15</sup> Meiner Meinung nach sollte bei weiteren

dass “the Egyptians never really embraced Sarapis to the extent that Greeks and Macedonians in Egypt did.”

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. zum Königseid: Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 240-241; Caneva (2016b) 225-231.

<sup>11</sup> Die einzelnen Forschungsrichtungen können hier nicht im Einzelnen aufgeführt werden, da sie für die Beantwortung der Hauptfrage nicht relevant sind und dies den Rahmen dieser Untersuchung sprengen würde. Ich verweise daher auf die neueren Forschungsübersblicke bei Huß (2001) 241-248; Caroli (2007) 309-353; Bergmann (2010) 119-120 und Paarman, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 259-260.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. Fraser (1960) 18-19; Fraser (1972) I 251-252. Sarapis wurde nun also zur “patron deity” für die zusammengewürfelte Bevölkerung in Alexandria. Problematisch ist allerdings, so Fraser (1960) 19, dass es keinen Nachweis für einen *Sarapis Polieus* in der Ptolemäerzeit oder für Sarapis als Gottheit von Alexandria gibt.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. Bergmann (2010) 120.

<sup>14</sup> Pfeiffer (2008).

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 245-246. Vgl. auch Devauchelle (2012), der anhand von zweisprachigen Beispielen zeigt, dass sich Griechen vorwiegend auf den Gott Sarapis bezogen, Ägypter jedoch auf Osiris und Osiris-Apis; er betont aber, dass “des éléments de la personnalité de ces deux figures divines se sont vite entremêlés” (vgl. 225). Bortolani (2016) 9 vermutet, dass Sarapis unter der einheimischen Bevölkerung weiterhin als *interpretatio graeca* des Osiris betrachtet wurde. Das zeigt sich im Übrigen auch in den Personennamen: Clarysse & Paganini (2006) 75-80 machen deutlich, dass in der

Überlegungen allerdings auch bedacht werden, dass in polytheistischen Systemen ein und derselbe Gott in unterschiedlichen Kultkontexten verschiedene Namen und Eigenschaften besitzen kann — im griechischen Bereich war er Sarapis, im ägyptischen Milieu Osorapis.<sup>16</sup>

Während also die Entstehungsgeschichte des Sarapis ausführlich behandelt wurde, spielt die Rolle des Sarapis als Heil- und Orakelgott eine eher untergeordnete Rolle.<sup>17</sup> Es besteht weitgehend Einigkeit darüber, dass die Funktion des Sarapis als Heilgott durch den griechischen Asklepios beeinflusst worden sei, da es im Sarapieion einen Kult des Heilgottes Imhotep-Asklepios gegeben habe. Zudem war der Kult des Asklepios in der griechischen Welt zu dieser Zeit sehr beliebt. Gerade Kos, wo sich ein bedeutendes Heiligtum des Asklepios befand, war mit Alexandria während der Regierung des Ptolemaios I. Soter eng verbunden.<sup>18</sup>

Ulrich Wilcken hatte im Jahre 1927 angemerkt, dass es in den Sarapieionspapyri keinen sicheren Hinweis auf Kranke gebe, die von Sarapis Heilung wünschten.<sup>19</sup> Wilcken und sich ihm anschließend Peter M. Fraser sahen aber die so genannte *λυχνάπτιον*-Inschrift als Beleg für die Heilfunktion des Sarapis. In dieser sehr fragmentarisch erhaltenen Inschrift bedankt sich ein Grieche für die Heilung durch einen Gott, der möglicherweise Sarapis sein könnte.<sup>20</sup> Daraus entwickelte sich auch die Frage, ob im Sarapieion von Memphis Heilung durch Inkubation — Heilschlaf — betrieben wurde, so wie es beispielsweise für Kanopos durch den Bericht des Strabo belegt ist.<sup>21</sup> Während Françoise Dunand diese Frage bejaht,<sup>22</sup> ist Gil H. Renberg sehr zurückhaltend. Er räumt ein, dass besonders im Thothheiligtum und im Heiligtum des Imhotep-Asklepios,

ägyptischen Bevölkerung die Namen Pet-osorapis oder Pete-usorapis, die auf dem Namen Osorapis beruhen (nicht Pete-sarapis) noch lange erhalten blieben. Allerdings lässt sich auch in der griechischen Bevölkerung der Name "Sarapis" in Personennamen erst ab 250 v.Chr. nachweisen.

<sup>16</sup> Für diesen wichtigen Hinweis danke ich dem Rezensenten des Aufsatzes. Vgl. zu dieser Problematik auch Versnel (2010), Kapitel 1: 'Many Gods. Complications of Polytheism', insbesondere 60-87.

<sup>17</sup> Behandelt wurde die Rolle des Sarapis als Heilgott u.a. bei Weinreich (1909) 118-126; Wilcken (1927) 34-35; Becher (1970) 228-234; Fraser (1972) I 256-258; Dunand (2006); Bricault (2008a); Renberg (2010); Lang (2013).

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. Fraser (1972) I 257.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Wilcken (1927) 34.

<sup>20</sup> *IGENLouvre* 11 Saqqara, hohe hellenistische Zeit. Die Inschrift ist leider sehr fragmentarisch überliefert und der Inhalt schwierig zu rekonstruieren. Der Text der Inschrift wird weiter unten besprochen.

<sup>21</sup> Strab. 17.1.17.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Dunand (2006) 11, die als Beleg dafür die Inschrift *IMetrEg* (IMEG) 112 heranzieht.

die sich innerhalb des Sarapieions befunden haben, Inkubation praktiziert worden sein müsse, diese Belege aber nicht ausreichen, um daraus ableiten zu können, dass “popular incubation was a prominent feature of worship at Saqqâra”.<sup>23</sup>

In einem ersten Schritt werde ich mich mit den ägyptischen Vorstellungen beschäftigen, die der Rolle des Sarapis als Heilgott zugrunde liegen. Abschnitt 2 behandelt dann die Verehrung von Sarapis in Memphis und Alexandria während der Ptolemäerzeit, bevor in Abschnitt 3 die Verbreitung des Kultes in der griechischen Welt vom 3. bis 1. Jh. v.Chr. analysiert wird.

# 1. ÄGYPTISCHE VORSTELLUNGEN — OSORAPIS ALS ORAKELGOTTHEIT

Hauptkultort des Gottes Osorapis, aus dem sich später Sarapis entwickelte, war Memphis. Die Stadt befindet sich in Unterägypten, am südlichen Ende des Nildeltas, und war die ursprüngliche Hauptstadt Ägyptens. Im Neuen Reich übernahm Theben in Oberägypten diese Rolle, wenngleich Memphis seinen Status als Königsstadt immer beibehielt. Ptolemaios I. residierte zunächst in Memphis, bevor er dann Alexandria zu seiner Hauptstadt erhob.<sup>24</sup> Memphis hatte nach wie vor große Bedeutung, denn dort wurden mehrere Ptolemäer vom Hohenpriester des Ptah gekrönt.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Renberg (2010). Renberg hat sich in einem im Juni 2017 erschienenen Werk ausführlicher mit Heilträumen in der griechischen Welt vor allem auf der Grundlage von epigraphischen Dokumenten beschäftigt; vgl. Renberg (2017). (Dieses Werk konnte nicht mehr einbezogen werden.)

<sup>24</sup> Darüber berichtet das Dekret des Ptolemaios zugunsten der Götter von Buto, das auch als Satrapenstele (Kairo; CG 22182) bezeichnet wird, aus dem Jahr 311 v.Chr.: “Er machte (sich) am Ufer des Meeres der Griechen eine Residenz namens ‘Mauer des ober- und unterägyptischen Königs Meri-Amun Setep-en Re, des Sohnes des Re Alexandros’, ihr früherer Name war Rakotis. Er versammelte viele Griechen mit ihren Pferden, mit vielen Schiffen und ihrem Heer.” (Übersetzung nach U. Kaplony-Heckel, ‘Das Dekret des späteren Königs Ptolemaios I. Soter zugunsten der Götter von Buto (Satrapenstele), 311 v.Chr.’, in: TUAT I 613-619).

<sup>25</sup> Für Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes und Ptolemaios XII. Neos Dionysos liegen Beschreibungen der Krönung vor: a) Memphisdekret, 18. Mecheir = 27. März 196 v.Chr. (Rosettana) Griechischer Text in: *OGIS I 90 = I. Prose* 16-18 = *SB V 8299 = CIG III 4697 = TM 8809* aus dem Regierungsjahr 9 des Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes; Literatur und Übersetzung bei Pfeiffer (2015) 111-126; demotischer Text bei Simpson (1996), 258-271; b) Stele *BM EA 886* (Harrisstele) = *TM 58463* aus dem Regierungsjahr 11 der Kleopatra VII. (15. Epiphi = 13. Juli 41 v.Chr.): Text und Übers. bei Panov (2012).

Ptah war der Hauptgott von Memphis, ein Schöpfer- und Handwerker-gott, der von den Griechen als Hephaistos bezeichnet wurde. Der Apis-stier lebte im Tempelbezirk des Ptah und galt als Sprecher des Ptah (*whm n Pth*). Nach seinem Tod wurde der Apisstier zu *Wsir-Hp* (Osiris-Apis = Osorapis). Diese “Osirisform des Apisstiers”<sup>26</sup> wurde nun speziell in Memphis als Lokalgöttheit verehrt. Dargestellt wird Osorapis als Mann mit Stierkopf, als stehender lebender Stier oder Stiermumie.<sup>27</sup> In der ägyptischen Spätzeit wurde er sehr beliebt, wie sich aus den zahlreichen überlieferten Texten schließen lässt.<sup>28</sup> Quack weist insbesondere auf zwei Textgruppen hin — Orakelanfragen und Götterbriefe.<sup>29</sup> In Orakelanfragen richtete man sich an einen Gott, wenn man eine richtige Entscheidung in Alltagsdingen treffen musste. Wenn man sich ungerecht behandelt glaubte und den Beistand der Götter erbat, benutzte man Götterbriefe.<sup>30</sup> Die Anfragen an Götter wurden den Schreibern der einzelnen Archive der Kultbereiche des Sarapieionsbezirkes übergeben. In der Schreibstube stand ein Kultbild; darunter schrieben die Schreiber das Orakel auf. Die Antwort wurde dann durch bestimmte *wʿb*-Priester her-  
ausgebracht.<sup>31</sup>

Ein Beispiel für eine solche Orakelanfrage ist auf dem Papyrus Berlin 23544 aus Memphis zu finden. Er wird von Zauzich aufgrund der altertümlichen Schrift in die vorptolemäische Zeit datiert.<sup>32</sup> Im Text heißt es:

Mein großer Herr Osorapis, der Diener deines Dieners ist es, welcher vor Osorapis sagt: Wenn es zu meinem Guten (in) meinen Zeiten (?) ist, nicht zu wohnen mit *Strb3* und dass ich sie nicht zur Ehefrau mache, möge man mir den Brief herausbringen ohne Trauer, ohne .... Geschrieben.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 234 betont, dass diese Verbindung nicht etwa als einfache Apposition “Osiris NN”, sondern als Genitivverbindung “Osiris des NN” zu verstehen ist. Dies hat Smith (2006) nachgewiesen; vgl. auch Smith (2017), 372-389.

<sup>27</sup> Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 235 weist darauf hin, dass mit dieser Bildform sowohl Osorapis, Apis, Apis-Osiris und der “lebende Apis” bezeichnet werden können. Nicht klar ist, für welche Bildform welche Bezeichnung gewählt wurde. Dazu auch: Kessler (1989) 66-89.

<sup>28</sup> Ich folge hier Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 234-237.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 236.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 236.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. Kessler (1989) 81-82.

<sup>32</sup> Zauzich (2000) 8-9.

<sup>33</sup> *p3i=i nb ʿ3 Wsir-Hp | p3 b3k n | p3i=k b3k p3 nti dd m-b3h Wsir-Hp || iw=f hpr r n3i=i nfr n3i=i ʿ3(?) | tm h3ms irm Strb3 | mtw=y tm ir-s sh3m.t | my in=w | n=i p3 bk r bnr iwti h3b3 | iwti s3t.. || sh3* (Übersetzung Karl-Theodor ZAUZICH).



Eine weitere Orakelanfrage findet sich im Ostrakon 71/2 – DP 20 [5706] an “Osiris-Apis, den großen Gott” und “die Göttin”. Aufgrund der Schrift wird der Text in die Zeit vom 5. Jh. bis zum Ende des 3. Jh. v.Chr. datiert. Auch hier handelt es sich um einen privaten Inhalt. Ein gewisser Ahtefnakht fragt an, ob die Zeit richtig ist für ihn, einen gesunden Esel und dessen Mutter zu verkaufen:

Mein großer Herr, oh Osiris-Apis, der große Gott (und) die Göttin. Wenn es ein gutes Vorhaben ist (für) Ahtefnakht, zu verkaufen den gesunden Esel zusammen mit seiner Mutter für Geld und wenn es würde Erfolg machen mit ihnen, lasse sie das Dokument zu mir herausbringen vor Osiris-Apis. Der Diener Akthefnakht hat dieses geschrieben.<sup>34</sup>

Aus diesen Texten wird deutlich, dass der Gott Osorapis schon in vortolemäischer Zeit eine große Bedeutung als Orakelgottheit in Memphis hatte.

Bereits im 7. Jh. v.Chr. kamen ionische und karische Söldner nach Ägypten. Sie waren von König Psammetich I. ins Land gerufen worden (664-610 v.Chr.), der auf diese Soldaten zur Errichtung und Stabilisierung seiner Regentschaft angewiesen war.<sup>35</sup> Unter Amasis (570-526 v.Chr.) wurden Karer und Ionier in Memphis angesiedelt, was zum kosmopolitischen Charakter der Stadt beitrug, den diese schon seit dem Neuen Reich innegehabt hatte.<sup>36</sup> Osorapis wurde von diesen Karo- und Hellenomemphiten schon im 4. Jh. v.Chr. angerufen und verehrt. Davon zeugt u.a. ein Papyrus. Eine Frau — Artemisia — verklagt den Vater ihrer verstorbenen Tochter vor dem Unterweltsgott Oserapis: ὦ δέσποτ’

<sup>34</sup> Smith & Davies (2014) 284-286, n. 11 (ill. 11): *p3i(=i) nb '3 i Wsir-Ḥp p3 nṯr l'3 t3 nṯr.t iw=f ḥpr p3 ['š-shn] | nṯr l'ḥ-t3i=f-nḥt di.t p3 ['3] | wd3 irm t3i=f mw.t | r-db3 ḥd iw=f ir 'š-shn | n-im=w my in=w n(=y) p3 | [bsk] r-bnr m-bšḥ Wsir-[Ḥp] | sh bsk l'ḥ-t3i=f-nḥt.*

<sup>35</sup> Hdt. 2.152.

<sup>36</sup> Hdt. 2.154: τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεῦτεν κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. (“Einige Zeit später nahm dann König Amasis diese Leute von dort weg, siedelte sie in Memphis an und machte sie zu seiner Leibwache, zum Schutz gegen die Ägypter”; Übersetzung: Walter MARG, Detlev FEHLING & Bernhard ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Herodot. Historien*, Zürich – München 1991); Strab. 17.1.32; Polyæn. Strat. 7.3; Aristagoras *FGrHist* 608 F9a: τόποι ἐν Μέμφιδι, ἀφ’ ὧν Ἑλληνομεμφῖται καὶ Καρομεμφῖται, ὡς Ἀρισταγόρας (“Plätze in Memphis, von denen die Hellenomemphiten und die Karomemphiten (kommen), nach Aristagoras”); F9b: τόπος ἰδιᾶζων ἐν Μέμφιδι, ἐνθα Κᾶρες οἰκῆσαντες, ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς Μεμφίτας ποιησάμενοι, Καρομεμφῖται ἐκλήθησαν (“ein spezieller Platz in Memphis, wo die Karer wohnten und weil sie Memphiten heirateten, wurden sie Karomemphiten genannt”).



᾽Οσεῤᾰπι καὶ θεοὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ ᾽Οσεῤᾰπιοῤῥ καθ[ήμενοι].<sup>37</sup> Es handelt sich hier um einen Götterbrief.

Der Kultbezirk des Osorapis (*pr Wsir-Hp*), der später in den Papyri Sarapieion genannt wurde, war ein ausgedehntes Sanktuar mit komplexer Topographie und umfasste neben den Katakomben von Osorapis und den dazugehörigen Kapellen auch andere Sanktuare. Verehrt wurden der Heilgott Imhotep-Asklepios, Anubis, Astarte-Aphrodite, Bastet, Dionysos, aber auch verschiedene heilige Tiere, wie z.B. die Ibis, die mit dem Gott Thoth verbunden waren.<sup>38</sup> Auch von ihm sind Orakel überliefert.<sup>39</sup>

Zur Entwicklung des Sarapis als Heilgott hat zweifelsohne die räumliche Nähe zum Sanktuar des Imhotep-Asklepios in Memphis beigetragen.<sup>40</sup> Imhotep war der sagenhafte Baumeister der Djoser-Pyramide (3. Dynastie) und galt als Sohn des Gottes Ptah. Auch wenn es bereits Zeugnisse für die Verehrung des Imhotep im Neuen Reich gibt, wird er doch gerade in der ägyptischen Spätzeit (ab 700 v.Chr.) äußerst beliebt. Zu seinen Kompetenzen gehörte u. a. auch die Heilkunst.<sup>41</sup> In der Forschungsliteratur wird häufig die These vertreten, dass Imhotep ursprünglich keine Kompetenzen als Heilgott hatte und er diese erst durch die Nähe zum griechischen Gott Asklepios erhalten habe.<sup>42</sup> Dagegen spricht ein frühdemotischer Text aus dem 6. Jh. v.Chr. aus El-Hibe, den Quack

<sup>37</sup> UPZ (= *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*) I.1, Memphis, 2. Hälfte 4. Jh. v.Chr.: “Oh Herr Oserapis und ihr Götter, die ihr mit dem Oserapis sitzt”. Vgl. auch Świderek (1975) 673-674; Borgeaud & Volokhine (2000) 67-69; Caroli (2007) 342-343 u.a. Zur Datierung vgl. Clarysse (1998) 1.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. Borgeaud & Volokhine (2000) 71-72.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. z.B. *O. Hor* 13 l. 1-7, 10. März 155 v.Chr.; publiziert, transkribiert und übersetzt bei Ray (1976) 55-57; vgl. auch Renberg (2010) 652-653; der Text weist allerdings viele Fehlstellen auf und das Ende des Textes ist nicht erhalten; daher bleibt die göttliche Antwort (ab l. 8) dunkel; vgl. Stadler (2012) 78.

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. mit den neuesten Belegen: Quack (2014).

<sup>41</sup> Quack weist auf einen demotischen Papyrus aus der späten Ptolemäerzeit hin, der als Brief an Imhotep stilisiert ist (Kairo CG 50114). Er stammt aus Saqqâra. In ihm bittet ein gewisser Har-... Imhotep darum, ihm ein Heilmittel anzugeben, welches für seine Krankheit geeignet ist. Auf der Rückseite des Papyrus ist der Empfänger des Briefes angegeben sowie der Vermerk “Imhotep, der große Gott”. Außerdem sind Reste griechischer Schrift zu finden. Letzte Übersetzung Friedhelm Hoffmann & Joachim F. Quack, *Demotische Texte zur Heilkunde*, in: TUAT N.S. V 314-315.

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. Fraser (1972) I 257; Friese (2010) 220: “Augenscheinlich griechischen Ursprungs ist die Inkubation in Verbindung mit Heilkulten.” (ohne weitere Begründung). Szpakowska (2003) 142-147 behandelt verschiedene Fälle im pharaonischen Ägypten, die eventuell als Inkubation klassifiziert werden könnten, kommt aber zu dem Ergebnis, dass es zweifelhaft sei, ob vor der Spätzeit Heilung durch Träume im säkularen Kontext nachzuweisen ist.

derzeit bearbeitet.<sup>43</sup> Es handelt sich um Anrufungen an Imhotep. Auf dem Recto ruft man Imhotep an, um von ihm Informationen medizinischer Art über Heilmittel und ihre Anwendungsweise für die Krankheit, an der man leidet, zu erhalten. Das erfolgt in Form einer Vision. Auf dem Verso sucht man nach einem Platz, an dem man leben kann, und möchte erfahren, welche Ereignisse eintreten oder nicht. Diese Informationen werden dem Kranken als Vision während des Schlafes zuteil. Das erinnert sehr stark an die Inkubation, die für den Asklepioskult typisch ist. Es handelt sich dabei um das "sich Lagern an heiliger Stätte, um im Traum ein Orakel oder eine Offenbarung zu erhalten."<sup>44</sup>

Quack weist darauf hin, dass Zeugnisse über Träume, in denen Heilverfahren genannt werden, zu einem so frühen Zeitpunkt in Ägypten sehr ungewöhnlich sind.<sup>45</sup> Er vermutet aber, dass es ägyptische Vorläufer gibt, die allerdings noch zusammengestellt und genauer untersucht werden müssten.<sup>46</sup> Sollten solche Inkubationsriten in Ägypten tatsächlich bekannt gewesen sein, dann sind diese von den griechischen Siedlern im 6. Jh. v.Chr. gern angenommen worden, da sie bereits in ihrer Heimat den Heilgott Asklepios kannten und verehrten. Das würde dann auch erklären, warum es zur Verbindung von Asklepios und Imhotep kam und warum gerade Imhotep-Asklepios unter den griechischen Einwanderern so populär war.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich also an dieser Stelle sagen, dass Osorapis im spätzeitlichen Memphis als Orakelgott eine Rolle spielte, wofür mehrere Zeugnisse sprechen. Er wurde offenbar auch im griechischen Bereich, in den Siedlungen der Ionier und Karer verehrt, die ab dem 6. Jh. v.Chr. in Memphis entstanden. Als Heilgott tritt er in vorptolemäischer Zeit jedoch noch nicht in Erscheinung. Im Kultbezirk des Osorapis wurden aber noch weitere Gottheiten verehrt, wobei vor allem Imhotep, der mit dem griechischen Heilgott Asklepios gleichgesetzt wurde, herausragt. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese räumliche Nähe die Qualitäten des Sarapis als Heilgott befördert hat.

Um Aussagen über Sarapis als Heilgott treffen zu können, muss nun die weitere Entwicklung dieses Gottes in der Ptolemäerzeit verfolgt werden.

<sup>43</sup> P. Heidelberg D5; vgl. dazu Quack (2014) 58-60.

<sup>44</sup> Wacht (1997) 179-180.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. Quack (2014) 59.

<sup>46</sup> Quack (2014) 59: "Es wird für die Zukunft eine wichtige Aufgabe werden, nach weiteren ägyptischen Vorläufern zu suchen und dabei einige problematische Fälle im Neuen Reich nochmals auf ihre Aussagekraft abzuklopfen." Ein ähnlicher Text aus der frühen Zeit ist vermutlich pBrooklyn 47.218.47 vs., der auch ins 6. Jhd. v.Chr. datieren dürfte (Auskunft von Joachim F. Quack per E-Mail vom 21.04.2017).

## 2. DIE ENTWICKLUNG DES SARAPIS ZUM HEIL- UND ORAKELGOTT IN MEMPHIS UND ALEXANDRIA

Ab der Regierung des Ptolemaios I. Soter — vermutlich in den 90er Jahren des 3. Jh. v.Chr. — tritt der Name Sarapis in den Quellen in Erscheinung.<sup>47</sup> In ägyptischen Dokumenten bleibt der Name *Wsir-Hp* weiterhin nachweisbar.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Es handelt sich hier um ein Papyrusfragment des Dramas von Menander *Ἐγχειρίδιον* (P. Oxy. XV 1803, l. 9-10), in dem geschrieben steht: ὡς σεμνὸς ὁ Σάραπισ θεός (“Wie heilig ist der Gott Sarapis!”). Da Menander nach der Chronik des Eusebios (Ol. 122, 1 p. 128, 11 Helm: *CXXII Olymp. Menander comicus moritur*) um 293/2-291/0 v.Chr. starb, handelt es sich um einen *terminus ante quem*; vgl. zum Todesdatum Schröder (1996).

Weitere Belege für die Frühzeit:

*RICIS* 305/1701 aus Halikarnassos als frühester Beleg für Sarapis außerhalb von Ägypten; vgl. dazu Fraser (1960) 34, Anm. 1 und Paarmann, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 263. Bei der Inschrift handelt es sich um eine Votivinschrift aus dem Beginn des 3. Jh. v.Chr.;

*RICIS* 405/0101 = *SEG* XX 325 aus Hyrcania, 281-261 v.Chr. (Reg. des Antiochos I.): Freilassung eines Sklaven im lokalen Sarapistempel; dazu Clarysse & Paganini (2006) 69;

Macrobius erwähnt ein Orakel über die Natur des Sarapis, das an Nicocreon von Cyprus Ende des 4. Jh. v.Chr. übermittelt wurde (Macr. *Sat.* 1.20.16-17): εἰμὶ θεὸς τοιός δὲ μαθεῖν, οἶδόν κ' ἐγὼ εἶπω· οὐράνιος κόσμος κεφαλῇ, γαστήρ δὲ θάλασσα, γαῖα δέ μοι πόδες εἰσὶ, τὰ δ' οὐα' ἐν αἰθέρι κεῖται, ὄμμα δὲ τηλαυγὲς λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο (“Ich bin der Gott, den man erkennen kann; das All des Himmels ist mein Haupt, mein Bauch ist das Meer, meine Füße die Erde, meine Ohren im Äther, aber mein weithin glänzendes Auge das helle Licht des Sonnengottes”; Übersetzung Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 239). Diese Stelle wird häufig in der Forschung als unecht bezeichnet, da der gesamtkosmische Charakter des Sarapis für diese frühe Zeit anachronistisch sei; vgl. zuletzt Bortolani (2016) 75-76. Quack, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 239 weist aber darauf hin, dass es im ägyptischen Kontext bereits tausend Jahre früher solche Aussagen über Götter gegeben habe und erwähnt einen Passus aus dem Ende des Neuen Reiches (ca. 1070 v.Chr.): Ostrakon *CG* 25209 – publiziert in: Quack (2013) 572-576.

Vgl. die Besprechung der Belege zur Frühzeit bei Caroli (2007) 316-319; Pfeiffer (2008) 390; Paarmann, in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 263.

<sup>48</sup> In Gebieten außerhalb von Memphis/Saqqara ist jedoch zu bemerken, dass in zweisprachigen Inschriften in der griechischen Version der Name Sarapis erscheint, in der hieroglyphischen/demotischen jedoch nur Osiris; vgl. zu diesem Phänomen Devauchelle (2012). Auf einigen Dokumenten aus der Ptolemäerzeit bzw. frühen Kaiserzeit ist dies gut nachzuvollziehen (vgl. Devauchelle 221-222):

*OGIS* I 97 = *SB* V 8873: Stele aus weißem Marmor, Taposiris Parva, Regierung Ptol. V. Epiphanes (nur griechische Inschrift): l. 5-7 Ὅσὸρῳ τε | καὶ Σαράπιδι καὶ Ἰσιδι | καὶ Ἀνουβίδι (“dem Osiris, der auch Sarapis ist, und der Isis und dem Anubis”); dazu Borgeaud & Volokhine (2000) 60-61; Renberg & Bubelis (2011) 190 n. 46; Quack in: Quack & Paarman (2013) 238 und Caneva (2016a) 50-51.

Opfertafel Berlin 2304, Herkunft umstritten (Koptos?), Ptolemäerzeit, zweisprachige Inschrift: Σαράπιδι θεῶι μεγάλῳ (“an Sarapis, den großen Gott”)/*Wsir kbt hnt hw.t-nwb* (“Osiris von Koptos, der Vorderste des Goldenen Hauses”); vgl. Vleeming (2001) n. 250, p. 233-234.

## 2.1. *Sarapis in Memphis*

In einem Text aus dem Zenon-Archiv<sup>49</sup> wird die Gründung eines Sarapisheiligtums (vermutlich in Memphis)<sup>50</sup> beschrieben.<sup>51</sup> Der Text stammt zwar erst aus der Regierung des Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos, zeigt aber sehr gut die Umstände, die zur Gründung eines Sarapisheiligtums führten und soll deshalb hier behandelt werden. Einen weiteren Text, der in dieser Ausführlichkeit berichtet, besitzen wir nicht.

Zoilos aus Aspendos in Pamphylien,<sup>52</sup> das zu dieser Zeit Teil des Ptolemäerreiches war, schreibt im Jahre 257 v.Chr. an Apollonios, den διοικητής des Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos.

Ἀπολλωνίωι χαίρειν Ζοῖλος Ἀσπέν[δ]ιος τ [c. 20],  
 ὅς καί διασυνεστάθῃ σοι ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων. ἔμοι  
 συμβέβηκεν  
 θεραπεύοντι τὸν θεὸν Σάραπιν περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας καὶ εὐημερίας  
 τῆς  
 πρὸς τὸμ (sic!) βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Σάραπίμ (sic!) μοι  
 χρηματ[ί]ζ[ει]ν πλε[ο]ν[ά]κι[ς]

Stele Berlin 2133, Abydos, 1. Jh. v.Chr. / 1. Jh. n.Chr., dreisprachige Inschrift: *Wsir-  
hnt.i imn.tiw* (“Osiris Chontamenti”) / *m-bsh Wsir p3 ntr ʿ3 nb Ibdw* (“vor Osiris, dem  
 großen Gott, dem Herrn von Abydos”) / *πρὸς τὸν κύριον Σερά[α]πιν* (“vor dem Herrn  
 Serapis”); vgl. zum Text Moje (2008) 65.

<sup>49</sup> Zenon war ein Verwaltungsbeamter des διοικητής Apollonios im 3. Jh. v.Chr. Das Zenonarchiv ist eine Sammlung von privaten und amtlichen Briefen. Die Literatur ist sehr umfangreich. Vgl. Pestman (1980); Pestman & Clarysse (1981); Orrieux (1983); Orrieux (1985); Clarysse & Vandorpe (1995).

<sup>50</sup> Es muss darauf hingewiesen werden, dass nicht immer klar war, dass dieses Heiligtum in Memphis errichtet werden sollte: Clarysse & Vandorpe (1995) 80 gehen davon aus, dass Zoilos Bürger von Aspendos war und zu der Zeit, als der Brief verfasst wurde, das griechische Viertel einer anderen Hafenstadt außerhalb von Ägypten, aber unter dem Protektorat der Ptolemäer bewohnte. Borgeaud & Volokhine (2000) 46 sprechen von “une cité non grecque mais sous juridiction ptolemaïque, où les Grecs disposent d’un quartier près du port”; Moyer (2011) 169 nimmt an, dass es sich um eine “coastal city, perhaps Aspendos in Pamphylia” gehandelt habe. Rigsby (2001) 119-120 weist jedoch darauf hin, dass mit der Wendung: *διαπλεύσω πρὸς σέ* (“hinübersegeln zu Dir”) die Verhältnisse in Ägypten am Fluss Nil gemeint seien. Apollonios und Zoilos befanden sich einfach auf unterschiedlichen Seiten des Nils. Renberg & Bubelis (2011) folgen Rigsby.

<sup>51</sup> *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59034, Jahr 28, 9. Audnaios (= 13. Februar 257 v.Chr.). Der Text wurde außerdem publiziert in: *PSI* IV 435 (dazu: Wilcken 1920; Deissmann 1923, 121-128 und ill. 19-20; *P. Edg.* VII; *SB* III 6713; Clarysse & Vandorpe (1995) n. 10, 78-85; *C. Zen. Palestine* XXXI; *RICIS* 314/0601; TM 694; Renberg & Bubelis (2011) 173-174. Die Literatur zu diesem Text ist umfangreich. Zuletzt ist er in folgenden Werken besprochen worden: Rigsby (2001); Pfeiffer (2008), Renberg & Bubelis (2011) mit umfangreicher Bibliographie.

<sup>52</sup> Die Lesung des Erstherausgebers Ἀσπένδιος wurde von Renberg & Bubelis (2011) 175 aufgrund eines neuen Scans des Originals bestätigt.

ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, ὅπως ἂν διαπλεύσω πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἐμφ[α]νί[σω] σοί  
 τὸνδε τῷ[v]  
 χρηματισμόν, ὅτι δεῖ συντελεσθῆναι αὐτῷ [ -c. 16 ναόν τε]<sup>53</sup>  
 καὶ τέμενος ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι[ι] κα[ι] [ἐρέα]  
 ἐπιστατεῖν κ[αί]  
 ἐπιβωμίζειν ὑπὲρ ὁμῶν.<sup>54</sup>

Es wird berichtet, dass er den Sarapis zugunsten der Gesundheit und des Erfolges des Apollonios bei König Ptolemaios (περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας καὶ εὐημερίας) verehrt habe und dieser ihm mehrmals im Schlaf erschienen sei. Sarapis beauftragte ihn, zu Apollonios überzusetzen und ihm von dem Traum zu berichten. Sarapis hatte ihm befohlen, einen Tempel für Sarapis sowie eine heilige Umfassung im griechischen Viertel in der Nähe des Hafens zu errichten. Dort soll ein Priester eingesetzt werden und Opfer sollen auf dem Altar zugunsten von Apollonios durchgeführt werden. Zoilos bat Sarapis, dass er ihn von dieser Aufgabe befreien solle und daraufhin sandte Sarapis ihm eine lebensbedrohliche Krankheit. Nachdem Zoilos sich wieder an Sarapis gewandt hatte und ihm versprach, diese Aufgabe zu erfüllen, heilte ihn Sarapis. Ein Mann aus Knidos erschien jedoch, wollte an dieser Stelle ebenfalls einen Sarapistempel errichten und brachte Steine dorthin. Sarapis verbot es diesem jedoch, worauf der Mann aus Knidos wegging. Schließlich reiste Zoilos nach Alexandria, zögerte aber, mit Apollonios über die Angelegenheit zu sprechen, obwohl dieser ihn empfangen hatte und wurde wiederum krank. Er sandte nun einen Brief an Apollonios und bat diesen um finanzielle Unterstützung, damit Sarapis dem Apollonios gnädig sei und seinen Status beim König verbessern könne und ihm gute Gesundheit gewähre. Zoilos werde allerdings bei der Errichtung des Heiligtums mitwirken, so dass Apollonios die hohen Kosten nicht zu fürchten brauche.

<sup>53</sup> Rigsby (2001) 122 schlägt βόμιον τε vor. Auch diese Ergänzung ist möglich; genügt doch die Existenz eines Altars und einer Umfassung, in dem der Dienst eines Priesters stattfindet, um von einem Heiligtum zu sprechen. Renberg & Bubelis (2011) ergänzen ναόν τε. Sie begründen das damit, vgl. 192, dass das zu schaffende Heiligtum möglichst prestigeträchtig für Apollonios sein muss.

<sup>54</sup> Text und Übersetzung von Renberg & Bubelis (2011) 173-174, recto l. 1-8. "Zoilos of Aspendos, [from the entourage, military unit or association of?], who was recommended to you by the Friends of the King, greets Apollonios. It happened to me as I was paying worship to the god Sarapis on behalf of your health and success with King Ptolemy that Sarapis instructed me again and again in my sleep that I should sail over to you and inform you of this oracle that there must be constructed for him [a temple (?)] and sacred precinct in the Greek (marketplace/neighbourhood?) near the harbour and a priest must preside and sacrifice at the altar on behalf of you (and your household?)."

Deutlich wird hier zunächst, dass der Kult des Sarapis zu diesem frühen Zeitpunkt wohl etabliert war. Eine große Rolle bei der Einführung spielte ein hoher Angehöriger des ptolemäischen Königshauses, denn der *διοικητής* war der Finanzverwalter des Königs. Damit wird auch der Zweck des Briefes deutlich. Zoilos benötigte viel Geld für die Errichtung des Heiligtums und die Bezahlung des Priesters und musste sich daher an denjenigen im Staat wenden, der in der Lage war, dieses Geld zur Verfügung zu stellen.<sup>55</sup> Zudem ist es natürlich besonders prestigeträchtig, wenn der Finanzminister, der mächtigste Mann nach dem König, an den Kosten beteiligt wird.<sup>56</sup> Um dem Anliegen zum Erfolg zu verhelfen, machte er deutlich, dass er von Sarapis selbst beauftragt wurde, dieses Heiligtum zu errichten und dass ihm im Fall der Nichteinlösung des Versprechens Krankheit droht.

Beschrieben wird hier die Rolle von Sarapis als Orakelgott, der im Traum erscheint und dort seine Anweisungen erteilt. Er ist in der Lage, Krankheiten zu bringen, sie aber auch zu heilen.<sup>57</sup> Sarapis erscheint einem Mann aus Aspendos, der offenbar einer höher stehenden Bevölkerungsgruppe angehörte, da er in Kontakt mit dem *διοικητής* trat. Weitere Informationen über Zoilos sind nicht bekannt, da in Zeile 1 hinter der Herkunftsangabe von Zoilos im Papyrus eine große Lücke klafft.

Zu fragen wäre, wo Zoilos mit dem Gott Sarapis in Berührung gekommen war, ob es in Aspendos in Pamphylien in dieser Zeit bereits ein Sarapisheiligtum gab oder ob Zoilos schon längere Zeit in der Gegend von Memphis gelebt und daher dort den Gott Sarapis kennengelernt hatte. Ein Sarapisheiligtum in Pamphylia lässt sich in der Ptolemäerzeit allerdings nicht nachweisen, doch hat es enge Beziehungen zum Königshaus gegeben, weil viele Einwohner als Söldner bzw. Beamte dienten.<sup>58</sup>

Es wird allerdings nicht deutlich, zu welchem Zweck dieses Heiligtum errichtet wurde. Es handelte sich wohl nur um einen kleineren Tempel,

<sup>55</sup> Renberg & Bubelis (2011) 183 weisen zudem darauf hin, dass die Kosten doch sehr hoch gewesen sein müssen, da das Sanktuar im dicht besiedelten städtischen Gebiet gegründet worden ist.

<sup>56</sup> Vgl. Pfeiffer (2008) 396-397.

<sup>57</sup> So auch Hölbl (1993) 31-33.

<sup>58</sup> Vgl. Jones & Habicht (1989) besonders 337-338 und Renberg & Bubelis (2011) 191. Auf dem Revers von Münzen aus Aspendos des 3. Jh. n.Chr. ist Sarapis dargestellt. Er wird im Innern eines hexastylen Tempels oder bei einem Altar wiedergegeben. Das zeuge, so Bricault (2008b) 143 (SNRIS) von einem Sarapistempel in der Stadt; vgl. SNRIS Aspendus 5 (Macrinus), Aspendus 15 (Severus Alexander); Aspendus 17 (Maximian); Aspendus 19 (Gordian III.), Aspendus 29, 30 (Gallienus); vgl. auch Kommentar zu *RICIS* 314/0601, 489. Die Münzen stammen allerdings aus der späten Kaiserzeit.

der mit einer Umfassung umgeben war und der sich im griechischen Viertel in der Nähe des Hafens befand. Ein Priester soll mit dem Kult betraut werden und es soll für Apollonios, auf dessen Kosten das Heiligtum errichtet wurde, gebetet werden.<sup>59</sup>

Rigsby vermutet, dass es sich um einen städtischen “Ersatz” für das Sarapieion gehandelt habe, um einen “convenient place for the Hellenomemphites to pay their respects to Sarapis”.<sup>60</sup> Zu beachten ist, dass das Sarapieion sich immerhin einige Kilometer entfernt vom Stadtzentrum in der Wüste befunden hat und der Aufwand, dorthin zu pilgern, doch recht groß gewesen ist.<sup>61</sup> Das könnte auch bedeuten, dass der Kult nicht nach ägyptischem Ritus durchgeführt wurde, da diejenigen, die das Heiligtum besuchten, Ionier und Karer waren, die im griechischen Viertel von Memphis gewohnt haben. Das Heiligtum wäre dann auch unabhängig vom Sarapieion gewesen. Ähnlich argumentieren auch Renberg und Bubelis, die zu bedenken geben, das durch die finanzielle Unterstützung des Apollonios das Heiligtum wohl nicht “upon Egyptian lines” verwaltet worden sei, sondern eher in einem Arrangement, das griechische Vorstellungen berücksichtigte. Es wäre auch unwahrscheinlich, dass ein ägyptischer Angehöriger des Sarapieion von Memphis zu diesem Sanktuar geschickt worden wäre, denn dann wären es ägyptische Priester gewesen, die bei der Errichtung des Heiligtums mitgewirkt hätten.<sup>62</sup>

Auskunft könnte auch der Papyrus Mich. I 31 geben, der zwei Jahre nach Zoilos’ Brief datiert (256-255 v.Chr.). Es geht um einen Bericht, der sich mit Land beschäftigt, das dem διοικητής Apollonios gehörte und das sich wahrscheinlich im Gebiet von Memphis befand. Die Landstücke wurden drei Göttern und zwei Pächtern von Apollonios zugeteilt. In Zeile 4-6 heißt es: παρὰ Ἰ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιστολὰς Σαράπι Ἀσκληπιῶι ἄ(ρourke) σμ | Διὶ Λαβραυνδαίῳ ἄ(ρourke) ρκ.<sup>63</sup> Es ist wohl eher

<sup>59</sup> Zu erwähnen ist, dass sich Apollonios später selbst als Gründer eines Sarapisheiligtums hervortat. In einem Brief an Zenon aus dem Jahr 256 v.Chr. gibt er den Auftrag, dafür zu sorgen, dass in der neu gegründeten Stadt Philadelphia im Fayum ein Sarapistempel beim Isieion errichtet werde. Dieser soll zwischen dem Tempel der Dioskuren und dem Bauplatz des geplanten Tempels für das zweite Ptolemäerpaar errichtet werden. (*P. Cair. Zenon* II 59168 = TM 815). Hier ist allerdings nicht die Rede von einem Befehl, der im Traum vom Gott Sarapis erteilt worden wäre; vgl. Hölbl (1993) 23-24; Pfeiffer (2008) 405-407; Renberg & Bubelis (2011) 185 no. 26.

<sup>60</sup> Rigsby (2001) 124.

<sup>61</sup> Vgl. Rigsby (2001) 122.

<sup>62</sup> Vgl. Renberg & Bubelis (2011) 183-184.

<sup>63</sup> Entsprechend der Briefe, die von Apollonios empfangen wurden, dem Sarapis und Asklepios 240 Aruren, dem Zeus Labraundaos 120 Aruren.



unwahrscheinlich, dass sich hier eine Verbindung zu dem im Brief von Zoilos erwähnten Heiligtum herstellen lässt, aber es lassen sich wichtige Hinweise zum Sarapiskult finden:<sup>64</sup> Zeus Labraundaos ist ein Gott, der von den karischen Söldnern und ihren Angehörigen aus ihrer Heimatregion in Karien in Memphis eingeführt worden war.<sup>65</sup> Daraus wird auch in der Literatur geschlossen, dass Apollonios vermutlich aus Karien stammte.<sup>66</sup> Apollonios förderte also besonders den Kult seines Heimatlandes, aber auch den Kult des Sarapis und den des Heilgottes Asklepios.<sup>67</sup> In Karien selbst hatte der Kult des Asklepios offenbar hohes Ansehen, da sich hier recht viele Belege des Kultes finden.<sup>68</sup> Die besondere Verehrung des Sarapis durch einen Karer spricht also dafür, dass sich der Kult des Sarapis besonders auf dem Siedlungsgebiet der Karomemphiten und auch der Hellenomemphiten in Ägypten entwickelt hatte. Es handelt sich also um einen Kult der Griechen in Ägypten.<sup>69</sup>

In dem Brief von Zoilos an Apollonios wird deutlich, dass Sarapis nicht nur ein Orakelgott war, der Anweisungen im Schlaf erteilte, sondern dass er auch Krankheiten heilen konnte. Es stellt sich also die Frage, ob er auch wie Imhotep-Asklepios durch Inkubation geheilt hat.

Lange Zeit wurde als Beleg dafür eine sehr fragmentarisch überlieferte Inschrift aus der Ptolemäerzeit herangezogen, die fehlerhaft ergänzt

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. Renberg & Bubelis (2011) 185; Rigsby (2001) 124 sieht einen solchen Zusammenhang.

<sup>65</sup> Vgl. Plut. *qu. Gr.* 45: Das Heiligtum von Labraunda geht auf Arsels von Mylasa zurück, der Gyges von Lydien bei seiner Machtergreifung unterstützte; vgl. auch Vittmann (2003) 72.

<sup>66</sup> Vgl. Huß (2001) 315. Aus den Zenonpapyri, zu denen die hier genannten Dokumente gehören, sind eine ganze Gruppe von karischen Einwohnern bekannt, die alle um Zenon herum zentriert sind; vgl. auch Fraser (1972) I 67.

<sup>67</sup> Wilcken (1932) 74 spricht sich wie der Herausgeber des Papyrus dagegen aus, dass es sich um eine synkretistische Form des Sarapis handelt. Es ist nicht selten, dass die Kopula zwischen den Götternamen weggelassen wird. Für die Trennung der Götter spricht auch, so Wilcken, dass wohl alle Götter gleich viel Land erhalten haben. Es wären demnach jeweils 120 Aruren Land vergeben worden. Hölbl (1993) 13 vermutet, dass es sich um ein großes zusammenhängendes Landstück für zwei miteinander verbundene Heiligtümer handelt.

<sup>68</sup> Riethmüller (2005) II App. Kat. 319-334 gibt 16 Belege, die allerdings in die Römerzeit datieren. Möglicherweise datiert jedoch der Kult bereits in die hellenistische Zeit; vgl. I 82.

<sup>69</sup> Das bedeutet allerdings nicht, dass die Griechen den Gott Osorapis in Memphis nicht mehr verehrten bzw. das dortige Sarapieion nicht mehr besuchten. Im Sarapieion von Memphis existieren aus der Zeit von 275-175 v.Chr. Graffiti, die an Isis und Sarapis gerichtet sind. Die Weihenden tragen griechische Namen; vgl. *SEG* XLIX 2260, 2261, 2301, 2314, 2315 und vielleicht 2313; dazu Nachtergaele (1999) und Devauchelle (2012) 218-219. Die Herkunft der Weihenden lässt sich allerdings nicht bestimmen.



wurde.<sup>70</sup> Der Block, auf dem sich die Inschrift befindet, stammt von einem Dromos, der zwischen dem Halbkreis, wo sich die Statuen der verschiedenen Philosophen befanden, und dem Sarapieion selbst gelegen war. 1992 legte Etienne Bernand eine Neulesung vor:

---- ΛΛΟΣ τὸ λυχνάπτιον ἀνέ[θηκα]----  
 ---- ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ · κακῶς διακεῖ[μενος] ---  
 ---- ΡΕΙΑΙΣ χρώμενος τοῖς ΠΡ---  
 ---- [ο]ῦκ ἡδυνάμην ὑγιείας [τυχεῖν?] ---  
 ---- Υ.<sup>71</sup>

Der Text berichtet von Lichtanzündern im Tempelkult und erwähnt eine medizinische Heilung, möglicherweise sogar ein Wunder, das von einem Gott bewirkt wurde. Von einer Inkubation ist nicht die Rede.<sup>72</sup> Bei diesem Gott könnte es sich um Sarapis gehandelt haben, da die Inschrift im Bezirk dieses Gottes gefunden worden ist und gerade im Kult von Isis und Sarapis Lichtanzünder wichtig waren.<sup>73</sup> Renberg weist allerdings darauf hin, dass eine Möglichkeit besteht, dass der Block wiederbenutzt worden sei. Daher käme hier auch ein anderer Gott, wie z.B. Imhotep, in Frage.<sup>74</sup>

Ebenfalls kein eindeutiger Beleg für Inkubation (Schlaf in Tempelheiligtümern) ist die Inschrift eines Traumdeuters, die aber ein schönes Beispiel für die Teilnahme eines Griechen am Kult des ägyptischen Gottes Osorapis/Sarapis ist: ἐνύπνια κρίνω | τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταγμα ἔχων | τυχαῖα θᾶ· Κρής ἐστιν ὁ | κρίνων τάδε.<sup>75</sup> Es handelt sich hier um eine bemalte Kalksteinstele mit der Werbung eines Traumdeuters. Deutlich wird, dass auf dem Gebiet des Sarapieion Traumdeutung betrieben wurde und dass der Gott (vermutlich Sarapis) Privatleute mit dieser Technik beauftragt hatte. Bei dem Traumdeuter handelt es sich jedoch um keinen

<sup>70</sup> *IGENLouvre* 11 Saqqara, hohe hellenistische Zeit; zur Datierung vgl. Fraser (1972) II 402, Anm. 498 (Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos); Renberg (2010) 650. Fehlerhafte Rekonstruktion und Interpretation bei Wilcken (1927) 34-35 und add. 643, der diese Inschrift nicht am Original studieren konnte. In Zeile 1-2 hier fehlerhaft ergänzt: [...υ]λλος τὸ λυχνάπτιον ἀνέ[θηκα θεραπευ]|[θεις ὑ]πὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>71</sup> "... ich habe geweiht den Ort der Lampenanzünder ... durch den Gott. Schlecht beschaffen... ich konnte nicht die Gesundheit erlangen."

<sup>72</sup> Bernand, E., in: *IGENLouvre* 41: "Rien n'impose de songer à une guérison par les songes."

<sup>73</sup> Bernand, E., in: *IGENLouvre* 39-40.

<sup>74</sup> Renberg (2010) 650.

<sup>75</sup> *I. Metr. Eg.* (IMEG) 112: 4./3. Jh. v.Chr., Saqqara: "Traumbilder richte ich, indem ich den Auftrag des Gottes habe. Gutes Glück! Derjenige, der diese richtet, ist Kres (oder ein Kreter)"; vgl. Renberg (2010) 651-652; Obbink (2005) 101-102; Dunand (2006) 11 sieht in der Inschrift einen Beleg für Inkubation.

offiziell eingesetzten Priester, sondern um eine Privatperson, die mit dieser Tätigkeit ihren Lebensunterhalt bestritt.<sup>76</sup>

Einzigster Beleg für Inkubation im Sarapieion, so Renberg,<sup>77</sup> könnte ein kleines Graffito auf der linken Vorderpfote eines steinernen Sphinx im *dromos* sein, der um 275-225 v.Chr. errichtet wurde, denn hier wird von einer Schlafkammer gesprochen, wie sie auch aus Asklepiosheiligtümern bekannt ist. Es würde auch zeigen, dass gewöhnliche Personen diesen Kult nutzten: [Ε]ν ἐνκομητηρίῳ | μυρία σινάμ[ωροι].<sup>78</sup>

Die Belege lassen also vermuten, dass es irgendeine Form von Inkubation im Sarapieion von Memphis in der Ptolemäerzeit gegeben haben muss. Sie bieten aber keinen eindeutigen Beweis.

Um die Rolle des Gottes Sarapis als Heilgott beurteilen zu können, muss daher die weitere Entwicklung dieses Gottes in Alexandria betrachtet werden.

## 2.2. *Sarapis in Alexandria*

Unter Ptolemaios I. oder Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos wurde offenbar der Kult nach Alexandria verlagert und ein erstes kleines Sarapisheiligtum gegründet, welches dann unter Ptolemaios III. Euergetes I. zu dem bekannten Sarapieion erweitert wurde.<sup>79</sup> Neuere Ausgrabungen zeigen, dass dieses Sarapieion viele ägyptische Elemente aufweist.<sup>80</sup> Nicht ganz

<sup>76</sup> Vgl. Renberg (2010) 651-652.

<sup>77</sup> Vgl. Renberg (2010) 657.

<sup>78</sup> Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5762; SEG XLIX 2292: "im Enkometerion (Schlafkammer) gibt es unzählige Ausschweifende"; dazu auch Nachtergaele (1999) no. 7, 353-354.

Noch ein weiterer Beleg für das Wirken von Sarapis als Heilgott in Memphis lässt sich ausmachen: So wendet sich ein gewisser Apollonios im 2. Jh. v.Chr. in einem Brief an seinen Bruder Sarapion in Memphis: θύομαι δὲ περὶ σοῦ | πρὸς τὸν Σάραπιν | καὶ τὴν Ἴσιν ὅπως | ὑγιάνῃς. ("Ich opfere für dich bei Sarapis und Isis, damit du gesund bleibst") – SB V 7618 = *P. Mil.* II 28 = *P. Med.* I 28; vgl. Calderini (1933) 688-689; Dunand (2006) 18; Legras (2011) 214. Zu Sarapion und Apollonios; vgl. Wilcken (1927) 113-116; Legras (2011) 182-189; Thompson (2012<sup>2</sup>) 228-234. Apollonios gehörte zusammen mit seinem Bruder Ptolemaios zu den *κἀτοχοι* (= den Eingeschlossenen) des Sarapieions, die das Gebiet nicht verlassen durften und dort mehrere Jahre lebten. Ihre Träume schrieben sie detailliert auf; keiner von ihnen bezieht sich jedoch auf Gesundheitsangelegenheiten und es handelt sich hier auch nicht um medizinische Inkubation. Das gilt auch für die Träume eines gewissen Ägypters namens Nekthembes. Vgl. auch Renberg (2010) 658-659: "the documents of the Ptolemaios Archive cannot be considered certain evidence for incubation at Saqqāra".

<sup>79</sup> Vgl. zur Baugeschichte McKenzie (2004), speziell zur Gründung 83; Sabottka (2008) 67-243 (ptolemäisches Sarapieion); Kleibl (2009) 316-325.

<sup>80</sup> Vgl. Kessler (2000).

klar ist, ob der Gott bereits noch in Memphis den Namen Sarapis erhielt oder ob dieser ihm erst in Alexandria verliehen wurde. In jedem Fall war in Alexandria der memphitische Ursprung deutlich: So bezieht sich ein demotischer Text aus dem Archiv des Hor auf das Sarapieion in Alexandria als *pr Wsir-Ḥp ps ʿnty n R'-kd* (Haus von Osiris-Apis, dem Großen, das in Alexandria ist).<sup>81</sup> Der Text stammt aus der Regierung des Ptolemaios VI. Philometor. Die Gleichsetzung der beiden Gottheiten *Wsir-Ḥp* und Sarapis ist am besten in den zweisprachigen Gründungstäfelchen des Sarapieions von Alexandria belegt. In der griechischen Version heißt es, dass Ptolemaios III. Euergetes I. Naos und Temenos für Sarapis gestiftet habe, in der hieroglyphischen Version wird von einem Haus (*pr*) und einem Tempelbezirk (*hw.t-ntr*) für Osiris-Apis (*Wsir-ḥp*) gesprochen.<sup>82</sup>

Der Gott Osorapis/Sarapis erhielt allerdings im griechischen Rahmen eine andere Ikonographie. Etwa 300 Darstellungen überliefern einen Haupttypus, bei dem Sarapis als thronende Vätergottheit dargestellt wird, die tief in die Stirn hängende dicke Haarsträhnen hat. Der Bart ist extrem üppig und voll von Locken und wird in etwa symmetrische linke und rechte Hälften geteilt.<sup>83</sup> Sarapis stützt die Linke auf ein Langzepter und die Rechte auf einen der Köpfe eines Kerberos, der von Schlangen umwunden ist. Der Kerberos sitzt neben dem Thron. Auf dem Kopf trägt der Gott einen Kalathos, auf dessen Wandung Zweige wiedergegeben sind.<sup>84</sup> Angeblich geht diese Kultstatue auf den Bildhauer Bryaxis zurück.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> *O. Hor* 3 verso, l. 19/20; Ray (1976) 20-29.

<sup>82</sup> *I. Alex. Ptol.* 13, Alexandria, Südwestecke der Umfassung des Sarapieions, Regierung des Ptolemaios III. Euergetes (246-221 v. Chr.): Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης, θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν, Σαράπει, τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος ("der König Ptolemaios, Sohn des Ptolemaios und der Arsinoe, der bruderliebenden Götter, hat dem Sarapis Naos und Temenos (geweiht)"); für die hieroglyphische Version vgl. Rowe (1946) 8. Vgl. zu den Plaketten auch Thompson (1993) 150. Sie übersetzt *Wsir-Ḥp* in der hieroglyphischen Version mit Sarapis.

<sup>83</sup> Vgl. Stambaugh (1972) 14.

<sup>84</sup> Vgl. zur Beschreibung Bergmann (2010) 114. Möglicherweise unterschied sich das hellenistische Kultbild vom Haupttypus, der erst seit der frühen Kaiserzeit belegt ist; vgl. dazu Hornbostel (1973) Taf. 205 (Münzen des Nero aus Alexandria). Die Diskussion, ob Sarapis in hellenistischer Zeit ein anderes Aussehen hatte, ist nicht abgeschlossen; vgl. dazu Bergmann (2010) 115. Stambaugh (1972) 18-22 entwickelt einen Typus des stehenden Sarapis mit Füllhorn in der linken Hand sowie Pathera in der rechten Hand und führt diesen auf die hellenistische Kultstatue des Sarapis in Memphis zurück; vgl. zur neuesten Diskussion um die Sarapisbildnisse Schmidt (2005).

<sup>85</sup> Clem. Al. *Protrepticus* 4.48: κατασκευάζει δὲ αὐτὸν Βρύαξις ὁ δημιουργός, οὐχ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄλλος δὲ τις ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ τῷ Βρυάξειδι ("Es verfertigte ihn aber Bryaxis der Schöpfer, nicht der Athener, sondern einer, der jenem Bryaxis gleichnamig war").

Wie entwickelte sich nun Sarapis in Alexandria zum Heilgott? Ein sehr frühes Beispiel stellt dieser Ausschnitt aus dem 5. Buch des Diogenes Laertios dar:

Δημήτριος Φανοστράτου Φαληρεὺς ... λέγεται δ' ἀποβαλόντα αὐτὸν τὰς ὄψεις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, κομίσασθαι αὖθις παρὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος· ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας ποιῆσαι τοὺς μέχρι νῦν ᾄδομένους.<sup>86</sup>

Diogenes Laertios, ein Autor des 3. Jh. n.Chr., stellt hier Demetrios von Phaleron vor, den er unter die Philosophen rechnet. Dieser Demetrios lebte in der frühen Ptolemäerzeit und war im Jahre 318 v.Chr. von dem Satrapen Kassandros als Verwalter von Athen eingesetzt worden.<sup>87</sup> Er bekleidete dieses Amt bis zum Sommer des Jahres 309/308 v.Chr., als der Piräus durch Demetrios Poliorketes erobert wurde.<sup>88</sup> Zunächst fand er Exil in Theben, nach Kassandros' Tod (297 v.Chr.) in Ägypten, wo er Berater des Königs Ptolemaios I. wurde.<sup>89</sup> Unter Ptolemaios II. geriet er in Ungnade und starb schließlich durch einen Schlangenbiss.<sup>90</sup>

Die Textpassage nimmt auf seinen Aufenthalt in Alexandria Bezug. Offenbar verlor er sein Augenlicht und erlangte es durch die Hilfe des Gottes Sarapis wieder. Aus Dankbarkeit komponierte er Paiane, die noch lange Zeit später gesungen wurden.<sup>91</sup>

Wenn wir Artemidor von Daldis (2. Jh. n.Chr.) glauben können, dann hat Demetrios von Phaleron darüber hinaus ein fünfbändiges Werk über Traumanweisungen und Wunderkuren des Sarapis geschrieben:

Ὅνειρους δὲ ἀποβεβηκότας καὶ τὰς ἀποβάσεις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐνεδέχετο γράφειν ἐν τέχνῃ ὄνειροκριτικῇ καὶ ὑποθήκαις θεωρημάτων. οὐδὲ μοι πιθανὰ ἔδόκει ταῦτα, καίτοι Γεμίνου τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ Μιλησίου τοῦ μὲν ἐν τρισί

<sup>86</sup> Diog. Laert. 5.75-76: "Demetrios, Sohn des Phanostratos, stammte aus Phaleron ... Er soll (auch) nach Verlust seiner Sehkraft in Alexandrien durch Sarapis wieder sehend geworden sein, wofür er die bis heute gesungenen Loblieder verfasst habe"; Übersetzung: Fritz JÜRSS (ed.), *Diogenes Laertios. Leben und Lehre der Philosophen*, Stuttgart 2010.

<sup>87</sup> Diod. 20.45.2: ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς πόλεως γεγεννημένος ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου ("der gemacht wurde zum ἐπιμελητὴς der Stadt durch Kassandros").

<sup>88</sup> Diod. 20.45.3; Plut. *Demetrios*. 8.3-9.2.

<sup>89</sup> Diod. 20.45.4: ἔφυγεν εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ("Er floh nach Theben, später aber zu Ptolemaios nach Ägypten").

<sup>90</sup> Diog. Laert. 5.78; Cicero *Rab. Post.* 23; vgl. auch *DNP* s.v. Demetrios von Phaleron, 429-430.

<sup>91</sup> Vgl. Käppel (1992) 345, 353; Test. 141. Vgl. auch 44, wo Käppel den Paian als Lied an den heilenden Gott zur Abwehr von Krankheit beschreibt. Diese Passage behandeln auch Borgeaud & Volokhine (2000) 50.

βιβλίους τοῦ δὲ ἐν πέντε τοῦ δὲ ἐν εἰκοσιδύο πολλοὺς ὄνειρους  
ἀναγραψαμένων καὶ μάλιστα συνταγὰς καὶ θεραπείας τὰς ὑπὸ  
Σαράπιδος δοθείσας.<sup>92</sup>

Solche Inkubationen könnten im Tempel des Sarapis von Kanopos in Alexandria durchgeführt worden sein. Ein Bericht des Strabo aus dem 1. Jh. v.Chr. gibt genauere Informationen.<sup>93</sup>

Κάνωβος δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις ἀπὸ  
Ἀλεξανδρείας περὶ ἰούσιν, ἐπώνυμος Κανώβου τοῦ Μενελάου  
κυβερνήτου ἀποθανόντος αὐτόθι, ἔχουσα τὸ τοῦ Σαράπιδος ἱερὸν  
πολλῇ ἀγιστεῖα τιμώμενον καὶ θεραπείας ἐκφέρων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς  
ἐλλογιμωτάτους ἄνδρας πιστεύειν καὶ ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ  
ἐαυτῶν ἢ ἐτέρους. συγγράφουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τὰς θεραπείας, ἄλλοι  
δὲ ἀρετὰς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων.<sup>94</sup>

Kanopos ist ein Ort an der Mündung des damals westlichsten Nilarms, äg. *P(r)-Gw.tj*, beim heutigen Abū Qīr westl. von Alexandria. Kanopos ist mit Alexandria durch einen Kanal verbunden. Das Sarapisheiligtum in Kanopos wurde offenbar schon früh gegründet und hier fanden dann auch Heilulte in Form von Inkubationen statt. Es müssen nicht unbedingt diejenigen dort schlafen, die von der Krankheit befallen sind; auch andere können dort für sie ruhen. Wer diese Stellvertreter sind, wird leider bei Strabon

<sup>92</sup> Artem. 2.44: "In Erfüllung gegangene Traumgesichte und ihre Ausgänge in einem Lehrbuch der Traumdeutung und in einer Darstellung ihrer theoretischen Grundlagen aufzuzeichnen, war nicht möglich. Auch schien mir dergleichen nicht überzeugungskräftig, obwohl Geminus aus Tyros, Demetrios aus Phaleron und Artemon aus Milet, der erste in drei, der zweite in fünf, der letztere in zweiundzwanzig Büchern viele Gesichte und vor allem von Sarapis eingegebene Traumanweisungen und Wunderkuren niedergeschrieben haben"; Übersetzung: Karl BRACKERTZ (ed.), *Artemidor von Daldis. Das Traumbuch*, Zürich 1979). Allerdings muss hier beachtet werden, dass Artemidor im 2. Jh. n.Chr. lebte und die Ereignisse aus der Ptolemäerzeit nur vom Hörensagen kannte. Möglicherweise wird Demetrios hier ins Spiel gebracht, um die Bedeutsamkeit und das Alter dieser Bücher zu betonen. Del Corno (1969) 138-139 weist auch darauf hin, dass es sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, dass bereits in dieser frühen Kultgeschichte ein solch umfangreiches Corpus von Traumanweisungen und Wunderkuren von Sarapis existierte und möchte daher die Berichte einem anderen Autor namens Demetrios zuweisen.

<sup>93</sup> Strab. 17.1.17.

<sup>94</sup> "Kanobos ist eine Stadt, hundertundzwanzig Stadien zu Fuß von Alexandrien entfernt, genannt nach Kanobos, dem Steuermann des Menelaos, der hier gestorben war; in ihr befindet sich das Heiligtum des Sarapis, das mit großem Zeremoniell verehrt wird und Heilungen verkündet, so dass sogar die namhaftesten Männer daran glauben und sich selber für sich dort schlafen legen oder es Andere für sich tun lassen; manche Autoren verzeichnen auch die Heilungen, andere die Wirksamkeit der dortigen Sprüche"; Übersetzung: Stephan RADT, *Strabons Geographika. Buch XIV – XVII, Text und Übersetzung*, Göttingen 2005.

nicht genannt. Es könnte sich um nahe Verwandte handeln oder aber auch um Priester. Hier bestünde der Vorteil, dass die Priester eine spezielle Ausbildung genossen haben und die Zeichen des Gottes somit besser deuten konnten.<sup>95</sup> Nicht ganz klar wird aus dem Text, ob im Schlaf Möglichkeiten für die Heilung genannt werden, die dann an den Kranken angewandt werden sollen, oder ob die Heilung schon während des Schlafes erfolgt. Von einigen Inkubanten wurden dann die Heilungen aufgeschrieben, andere verbreiteten die Exzellenz der Orakelträume. Strabo betont, dass sogar sehr hoch angesehene Männer an die Wirkungen des Sarapis glaubten und dort schliefen. Das könnte sich auch daraus erklären, dass sich Kanopos in unmittelbarer Nähe von Alexandria befand und dass der Kult vom Königshaus offenbar gefördert wurde. Der bereits genannte Demetrios von Phaleron, der eng mit den Ptolemäern verbunden war, soll durch das Eingreifen von Sarapis sein Augenlicht wiedererlangt haben. Zudem spielte, wie weiter oben dargelegt, der διοικητής Apollonios als Angehöriger der Regierung bei der Einrichtung von Sarapisheiligtümern in Memphis und in Philadelphia eine entscheidende Rolle.<sup>96</sup>

Auch Herakleides Pontikos spricht im 4. Jh. v.Chr. über Kanopos. Interessant ist, dass von ihm Sarapis mit dem Unterweltsgott Pluto gleichgesetzt wird.<sup>97</sup> Das Fragment wird allerdings erst im Werk des Plutarch

<sup>95</sup> Es existieren einige Beispiele für solche Fälle, bei denen eine andere Person für den Kranken schlief: Iama B 21 der Iamata von Epidauros, ed. Herzog (1931). Hier schläft eine Mutter für ihre an Wassersucht erkrankte Tochter und diese wird wieder geheilt; Strab. 14.1.44 berichtet, dass im Plutonium von Acharaka erfahrene Priester für die Kranken schlafen (οἱ ἐγκοιμῶνται τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ διατάττουσιν ἐκ τῶν ὀνείρων τὰς θεραπειάς — “die dort schlafen für sie und aus den Träumen heraus die Heilmittel verordnen”). Sie bringen aber auch häufig die Kranken selbst in die Schlafkammer, damit diese Träume erfahren dürfen; vgl. dazu von Ehrenheim (2015) 96-97. (Für den Hinweis zu diesen Stellen danke ich Marte Zepernick aus Halle).

<sup>96</sup> Neben dem Bericht des Strabon deuten auch dünne goldene Darstellungen von männlichen und weiblichen Sexualorganen, die in Kanopos gefunden wurden, auf den Heilkult, der dort betrieben wurde, hin: Alexandria Gr.-Röm. Museum, Inv. 25034-25048; vgl. auch Fraser (1972) I 258.

<sup>97</sup> Herakl. Pont. frg. 139 (= Plutarchus *Is.* 27 (361e)), der auch auf das Heiligtum in Kanopos hinweist: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον εἶναι Σάραπιν ἢ τὸν Πλούτωνά φασι, καὶ Ἰσιν τὴν Περσέφασσαν, ὥς Ἀρχέμαχος εἶρηκεν ὁ Εὐβοεύς καὶ ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης τὸ χρηστήριον ἐν Κανόβῳ Πλούτωνος ἡγούμενος εἶναι. (“Man sagt nämlich, dass Sarapis niemand anderes als Pluto und dass Persephone Isis ist, wie auch Archemachos von Euboea gesagt hat und Herakleides Pontikos, der das Orakel in Kanopos für ein Orakel des Pluto hält”). Vgl. dazu auch die Darstellungen in T1 und T2 (Halle des Caracalla) der Nekropole von Kôm el-Shoqafa in Alexandria (1./2. Jh. n.Chr.), in denen Osiris (Sarapis) im oberen Register erscheint, Persephone und Hades jedoch im unteren Register; vgl. dazu Guimier-Sorbets e.a. (2015) Abb. 85-88. Für diesen Hinweis danke ich dem Rezensenten des Aufsatzes.

*De Iside et Osiride* aus dem 1./2. Jh. n.Chr. überliefert. Der Ursprung des Sarapis, der sich aus dem Unterweltsgott und Orakelgott Osorapis entwickelt hatte, ist also entscheidend für seine Rolle als Heilgott in Kano-  
pos gewesen.

Herangezogen werden könnten hier auch die Texte, die über die Einführung des Sarapis in Ägypten berichten.<sup>98</sup> Obwohl sie aus dem 1./2. Jh. n.Chr. stammen, geben sie doch hier wohl ältere Überlieferungen wieder. Tacitus bezieht sich auf Erzählungen der Priester aus Ägypten: *Origo dei nondum nostris auctoribus celebrata: Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant*.<sup>99</sup> Es geht darin um die Einführung des Gottes Sarapis in Ägypten. So berichtet der Autor, dass dem Ptolemaios I. Soter im Traum ein junger Mann erschienen sei, der ihn ermahnt habe, seine engsten Freunde nach Pontus zu schicken und sein Bild herbeizuholen, denn dies werde Glück für das Königreich bringen. Plutarch wiederum überliefert, dass Ptolemaios Soter eine große Statue in der Stadt Sinope gesehen habe, die ihn mit aller Macht gebeten habe, nach Alexandria transferiert zu werden. Auch hier wird Sarapis also in seiner Rolle als Orakelgott gezeigt, der dem Ptolemaios I. Soter im Traum erschien (Tacitus) bzw. als Statue zu ihm sprach (Plutarch).

Um Genaueres über das Auftreten von Sarapis als Heilgott zu erhalten, lohnt sich ein Blick in die aus dem 1. Jh. v.Chr. stammenden Fragmente der *saturae Menippeae* von Varro, die Eumeniden. Varro lebte von 116-27 v.Chr. Im Jahre 43 v.Chr. hatten die *triumviri* erstmals die Erlaubnis erteilt, einen Sarapistempel zu errichten.<sup>100</sup> Danach schlug die Stimmung um, als Marcus Antonius mit Kleopatra gegen Octavian, den späteren Augustus, kämpfte und Kleopatra mit Isis gleichgesetzt wurde, Marcus Antonius mit Dionysos-Osiris.

Varro bekennt sich als Nachfolger des Menipp und betont in seinen Satiren die römischen Werte.<sup>101</sup> Die folgende Szene und das Gespräch fanden offenbar in Rom statt. Der Akteur ist vermutlich der neue Orest, der sich in einen Sarapistempel begibt, um von seinem Wahnsinn geheilt

<sup>98</sup> Tac. *hist.* 4.83-84; Plut. *Is.* 28-29 (361e-362e).

<sup>99</sup> Tac. *hist.* 4.83.1: Die Herkunft des Gottes ist von unseren Autoritäten noch nicht gepriesen worden: Die Tempelvorsteher der Ägypter berichten auf diese Weise.

<sup>100</sup> Cass. Dio 47.15.4: Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐποίησαν, καὶ νεῶν τῷ τε Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ Ἰσιδι ἐψηφίσαντο· ("Neben diesen Unternehmungen her gelobten sie in jenem Jahr [43 v. Chr.] dem Serapis wie der Isis einen Tempel"; Übersetzung: Otto VEH & Hans Jürgen HILLEN (eds.), *Cassius Dio. Römische Geschichte*, Berlin 2012<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>101</sup> Vgl. Krenkel (2002) I XXIII. Ich folge den Übersetzungen von Krenkel.



zu werden. Er befragt einen Anhänger des Sarapis, der ihm Auskunft gibt:<sup>102</sup> *ego medicina, Serapi, utor. cottidie praecantor. intellego recte scriptum esse Delphis: 'THEON ER<OT>A'*<sup>103</sup>. Im Fragment 138 wird deutlich, dass die Heilung nicht bereits während des Schlafes erfolgte, sondern dass entsprechende Rezepte ausgegeben wurden, die dann die Heilung bewirken sollten. Der Kranke führte dann anschließend eine Kur durch: *in somnis uenit, iubet me cepam esse et sisymbrium*<sup>104</sup>. Fragment 128 zeigt dagegen, dass die Heilung gegen Geld erfolgte, was allerdings nicht verwunderlich ist, da auch, so Varro, bereits Aristoteles<sup>105</sup> gegen Geld heilte: *hospes, quid miras auro curare Serapim? quid quasi non curet tanti idem Aristoteles*.<sup>106</sup> Es war zu dieser Zeit allerdings üblich, „dass für den Eintritt in den Tempel, das Darbringen des Opfers und das Einwerfen der Gabe Gebühren gezahlt werden mussten.“<sup>107</sup>

Ein weiteres Zeugnis aus dem 1. Jh. v.Chr. stammt aus Ciceros Abhandlung *De divinatione*. Das Werk entstand wohl zwischen Ende 45 v.Chr. und dem Tod Caesars, wurde jedoch danach von ihm überarbeitet.<sup>108</sup> Allerdings sammelte Cicero in diesem Werk sowohl Argumente für als auch Argumente gegen die Weissagung und stellte diese zur

<sup>102</sup> Vgl. Rolle (2016) 29-31.

<sup>103</sup> frg. 152 (Cèbe 144): „Ich nutze deine Therapie, Serapis: Täglich lasse ich mich besprechen. Ich sehe ein, dass mit Recht in Delphi die Inschrift angebracht ist: Frage den Gott!“ Möglich ist auch die Übersetzung — ich nutze Sarapis als Medikament; vgl. dazu auch Rolle (2016), 31.

<sup>104</sup> frg. 138 (Cèbe 147): „Er kommt im Schlaf und heißt mich Zwiebeln essen, Kresse obendrein.“

<sup>105</sup> Nicht ganz klar ist hier, ob es sich um den Universalgelehrten handelt oder um einen anderen Arzt namens Aristoteles. Bekannt ist, dass Aristoteles Sohn des Arztes Nikomachos war.

<sup>106</sup> frg. 128 (Cèbe 145): „Fremdling, was wunderst du dich, dass Serapis für Geld nur behandelt? Nimmt Aristoteles nicht ebenso viel für die Kur?“

<sup>107</sup> Krenkel (2002) I 225, der als Beleg eine Stelle von Varro *ling.* 5.182 anführt: *ut ... diis cum thesauris asses dant stipem* („wenn sie den Göttern für den Tempelschatz Geld geben, nennen sie das *stipes*“).

Bei dem folgenden Fragment ist nicht ganz klar, ob es sich hier ebenfalls um eine Heilung durch Sarapis handelt: frg. 162 (156): *capite aperto esse iubet, ante lucem suscitatur, frigore torret, uenatum eicit, ieiunio vellicat me* („Er heißt ihn ohne Kopfbedeckung sein, vor Tagesanbruch jagt er ihn hoch, setzt ihn schneidender Kälte aus, treibt ihn zur Jagd, durch Fasten zwackt er ihm ins Gedärm“; Übersetzung: Otto WEINREICH (ed.), *Römische Satiren. Ennius, Lucilius, Varro, Horaz, Persius, Juvenal, Seneca, Petronius*, Zürich 1949, der diese Stelle auf Sarapis bezieht; vgl. auch Becher (1970) 231. Leider gibt der Autor keinerlei Erklärung dafür, wie er zu dieser Zuschreibung kommt. Bei Krenkel (2002) wird diese Szene nicht mit Sarapis in Verbindung gebracht.

<sup>108</sup> Vgl. Wardle (2006) 43.



Diskussion,<sup>109</sup> wobei es schwierig ist, Ciceros persönliche Meinung zu bestimmen.<sup>110</sup> In der betreffenden Textstelle wird Kritik daran geübt, durch Träume Heilung zu erfahren und dabei werden Aesculap und Serapis genannt.

Qui igitur convenit aegros a coniectore somniorum potius quam a medico petere medicinam? An Aesculapius an Serapis potest nobis praescribere per somnium curationem valetudinis, Neptunus gubernantibus non potest?<sup>111</sup>

Beide Autoren — Varro und Cicero — machen deutlich, dass der Kult des Sarapis als Heil- und Orakelgott im 1. Jh. v.Chr. weit verbreitet und auch in der römischen Welt wohlbekannt war. Dabei spielt, wie auch schon in Ägypten, die Verbindung zu Asklepios offenbar eine große Rolle.<sup>112</sup> Unverkennbar ist hier aber die Kritik der Römer in republikanischer Zeit.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass sich der Kult des Sarapis als Heilgott schon recht früh innerhalb von Ägypten entwickelte und verbreitete. Es waren wohl Angehörige der ionisch-karischen Bevölkerung in Memphis, die dazu maßgeblich beitrugen. Die räumliche Nähe des Sarapis zu Imhotep-Asklepios in Memphis hat dazu geführt, dass der ursprüngliche ägyptische Orakelgott Osorapis sich verstärkt zu einem Heilgott entwickelte. Der Gott wirkte wohl vor allem durch Traumaneurien. Das wird in dem Bericht des Strabon über Inkubationsriten im Sarapisheiligtum von Kanopos deutlich. Auch im römischen Bereich war dieser Aspekt des Sarapis bekannt, wie sich bei der Besprechung der Stellen bei Varro und Cicero gezeigt hat.

<sup>109</sup> Er verwendete beispielsweise auch Abschnitte aus Werken des Aristoteles über die Weissagung, (insbesondere 1.81 und 2.128); vgl. dazu van der Eijk (1993).

<sup>110</sup> Vgl. Wardle (2006) 8. Vgl. zu dieser Problematik auch: Schofield (1986) und Beard (1986) 34: "Both positions are laid out, and no conclusion, supporting one side or the other, is offered; instead, in the traditions of the Academic school of philosophy, the reader is left to make up his own mind on the most convincing case"; vgl. auch ten Berge (2013).

<sup>111</sup> Cic. Div. 2.123: "Wie aber ließe es sich rechtfertigen, dass Kranke bei einem Traumdeuter eher als bei einem Arzt Heilung suchen? Oder vermag Askulap, vermag Serapis uns im Schlaf eine Gesundheitspflege zu verordnen, Neptun dagegen, wenn wir am Steuerruder stehen, vermag das Entsprechende nicht?"; Übersetzung: SCHÄUBLIN, Christoph (ed.), *Cicero, Marcus Tullius, Über die Weissagung*, lat.-dt., München 1991.

<sup>112</sup> Auch Tacitus berichtet im Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte um die Einführung des Sarapiskultes in Ägypten, dass Sarapis ein Heilgott sei und aus diesem Grund mit Asklepios gleichgesetzt worden sei: Tac. hist. 4.84.5: *Deum ipsum multi Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus* ("Was den Gott betrifft, so vermuten viele, er sei Askulap, weil er kranke Körper heile"; Übersetzung: Alfons STÄDELE (ed.), *Tacitus, Cornelius, Historien*, lat.-dt., Darmstadt 2014). Allerdings stammt dieser Bericht aus dem 1./2. Jh. n.Chr.

Auch das Herrscherhaus hatte Interesse an der Verbreitung des Kultes, denn dadurch konnte der griechische Herrscher die im Lande lebende griechische Bevölkerung an sich binden. Allerdings wird dies erst verstärkt unter König Ptolemaios III. Euergetes deutlich, als Sarapis auch im Königseid genannt wurde.<sup>113</sup> Gleichzeitig machte er aber auch klar, dass er die in Ägypten und ganz besonders in Memphis angesiedelten ägyptischen Kulte respektierte. Wichtig war insbesondere eine enge Beziehung zur Priesterschaft in Memphis, die neben der thebanischen Priesterschaft zu den einflussreichsten des Landes gehörte. Für die Etablierung und Aufrechterhaltung ihrer Herrschaft waren die Ptolemäer auf eine gute Zusammenarbeit mit den memphitischen Priestern angewiesen. Die Griechen besuchten das Sarapieion in Memphis, gründeten aber auch eigene Kultstätten, die nach griechischem Muster organisiert waren.

Im Folgenden ist nun danach zu fragen, welche Gründe dazu geführt haben, dass sich dieser Kult auch außerhalb von Ägypten so stark verbreitete.

### 3. DIE VERBREITUNG DES KULTES IN DER GRIECHISCHEN WELT

Das 3. Jh. v.Chr. war eine Blütezeit des Ptolemäerreiches. In dieser Zeit expandierte es auch in die griechische Welt. Weite Gebiete standen nun unter der Herrschaft der Ptolemäer. Dazu gehörten neben Ägypten die Außenbesitzungen Koilesyrien und Palästina sowie Zypern, die Südküste Anatoliens, Kyrene und weitere griechische Städte im Bund der Nesioten bis in die nördliche Ägäis. Die Seleukiden herrschten über das südliche Mesopotamien und Nordsyrien, Kleinasien und Iran. Zum Herrschaftsgebiet der Antigoniden gehörten Makedonien, Thrakien, Thessalien und einige andere Gebiete Griechenlands.<sup>114</sup> Kultanlagen des Sarapis lassen sich im Bereich der Ptolemäer, aber auch der anderen hellenistischen Herrscher sowie in unabhängigen Staaten ausmachen.

Einer der längsten und ausführlichsten Texte stammt aus Delos, der heiligen Insel des Gottes Apollon. Hier wurden drei Heiligtümer für ägyptische Götter gegründet — Sarapieion A, B und C. Ihre Architektur ist bis heute weitestgehend erhalten. Wir besitzen eine zweiteilige

<sup>113</sup> Im Königseid erscheint Sarapis erst ab der Regierung des Königs Ptolemaios III. Euergetes; vgl. Caneva (2016b) 225-231.

<sup>114</sup> Vgl. Bommas (2005) 38 mit Karte auf 36-37.

Inscription über die Gründung des Sarapisheiligtums auf Delos, die im offenen Vorhof des Sarapieion A gefunden wurde, bei dem es sich um ein relativ kleines Heiligtum am Ufer des Flusses Inopos unterhalb des Berges Kynthos handelt. Die Aretalogie<sup>115</sup> war auf einen schmalen Pfeiler geschrieben und wird in das 3./2. Jh. v. Chr. datiert. Neben dem Prosatext (l. 1-28), der den Ablauf der Gründung berichtet, folgt noch ein Hymnus in Hexametern (l. 29-94), der die Geschehnisse wiederaufnimmt. Der Prosatext wurde von einem Priester namens Apollonios (l. 1-2), der Hymnus von einem gewissen Maiistas verfasst (l. 29). Der Hymnus beginnt mit den Worten:

μυρία καὶ θαμβητὰ σέθεν, πολύαινε Σάραπι,  
ἔργα, τὰ μὲν θείας ἀνὰ τύρσιας Αἰγύπτιοιο  
ἡῶδεται, τὰ δὲ πᾶσαν ἄν' Ἑλλάδα, σείο θ' ὁμῆνον  
Ἰσιδος.<sup>116</sup>

Apollonios berichtet, dass sein gleichnamiger Großvater aus Memphis in Ägypten nach Delos eingewandert sei und eine kleine Statue des memphitischen Gottes mit sich gebracht habe und den Gott in seinem eigenen Hause mit Rauchopfern verehrt habe. Er betont, dass er ein Ägypter aus der priesterlichen Klasse war.<sup>117</sup> Wie in einer griechischen Inschrift üblich, wird sein ägyptischer Name gräzisiert.<sup>118</sup> Vermutlich hatte er in seiner Heimat schon länger Kontakte mit Griechen.

<sup>115</sup> IG XI.4 1299, *RICIS* 202/0101: Die Literatur zu diesem Text ist sehr umfangreich. Ich greife hier neuere Arbeiten heraus, von denen aus dann die ältere Literatur erschließbar ist: Merkelbach (2001<sup>2</sup>) 125-126; Moyer (2011) 142-207 und Text mit Übersetzung auf 282-286; ausführlicher Kommentar: Engelmann (1975); französischer Text mit Übersetzung und kurzem Kommentar bei Bricault, *RICIS* 202/0101; Bonnet & Bricault (2016). Ich verwende Text und Übersetzung von Moyer (2011).

<sup>116</sup> l. 30-33: "Myriad and astonishing, much-praised Sarapis, are your deeds; some have been proclaimed throughout the divine battlements of Egypt, some throughout all Hellas — and of your bed-partner Isis."

<sup>117</sup> l. 2-4 (Prosa): ὁ γὰρ πάππος ἡμῶν | Ἀπολλώνιος, ὃν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων | τὸν θεὸν ἔχων παρεγένετο ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ("for our grandfather Apollonios, an Egyptian from the priestly class, arrived from Egypt, bearing the god"); l. 37-38 (Hymnos): αὐτὸς δ' οἱ δηναῖα πατὴρ ἐκόμισσεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς | Μέμφιδος ("the father long ago brought them (sc. the rites of Apollonios) hither from Memphis itself"); l. 39-40 (Hymnos): ἐνδὸν εἰὼι δ' ἄεκων ἵδρουσε μελάθρῳ | καὶ σε φίλως θυέ<ε>σιν ἀρέσσατο ("within his own house, though unwilling, he established them and in kindly manner pleased you with smoky offerings").

<sup>118</sup> Vermutlich wurde hier der ägyptische Name Hor oder Horos ins Griechische übertragen. Horus wird ja im griechischen Bereich mit Apollo wiedergegeben. So auch Borgeaud & Volokhine (2000) 48; vgl. auch Engelmann (1975) 11: "Apollonius I was an Egyptian though he bore a Greek name; we do not know whether he previously also bore an Egyptian name. In any case both Apollonius and his son Demetrius have theophoric

Apollonios reiste offenbar auf eigene Initiative. Delos selbst war zu diesem Zeitpunkt ein unabhängiger Staat und gelangte erst 166 v.Chr. unter athenische Herrschaft.<sup>119</sup> Wir wissen auch nichts über seine Beweggründe. Auch der Vater des jüngeren Apollonios, Demetrios, führte den Kult fort und wurde dafür mit einer Bronzestatue geehrt.<sup>120</sup> Seinem Sohn Apollonios II., dem Erzähler, erschien nun Sarapis im Schlaf und befahl ihm, ein Sarapieion zu errichten, dass sich nicht wie bisher auf gepachtetem Gebiet befand. Dieser Bauplatz wird an einem Durchgang zum Markt zum Verkauf angeboten (l. 13-18).<sup>121</sup> Der Priester erledigte alles, so wie es ihm im Traum gesagt worden war, erwarb das Grundstück käuflich und errichtete innerhalb von sechs Monaten einen Tempel (l. 22-23).

Allerdings wurde nun Apollonios von den Nachbarn verklagt.<sup>122</sup> Die Gründe für diesen Prozess sind nicht ganz klar — möglicherweise hatte es Apollonios versäumt, als Ausländer um Erlaubnis zu fragen, das Land kaufen zu können oder ein Sanktuar für fremde Götter zu errichten. Vielleicht baute er außerhalb der Grenzen seines Besitzes oder er zahlte möglicherweise nicht die nötigen Steuern. Vielleicht hängt der Prozess auch mit der Wasserversorgung des Sanktuars zusammen, denn der Inopos war eine öffentliche Wasserquelle, für die Steuern zu zahlen waren.<sup>123</sup> Moyer vermutet einen Konkurrenzkampf zwischen den benachbarten Sanktuaren Sarapieion A, B und C.<sup>124</sup> Sarapis erschien wiederum im Traum und

names: Apollonius relates to Apollo-Horus, Demetrius relates to Demeter-Isis.” Moyer (2011) 161 nennt Beispiele für Ägypter, die bereits in frühhellenistischer Zeit griechische Namen trugen und in Ägypten tätig waren: “he was indeed an Egyptian and had an Egyptian name in addition to his Greek one.” Vgl. zu den Doppelnamen jetzt auch Coussement (2016). Nicht belegen lässt sich jedoch die Vermutung von Świderek (1975), die Apollonios für einen Angehörigen der Hellenomemphiten hält und davon ausgeht, dass diese im 4./3. Jh. v.Chr. bereits soweit assimiliert gewesen seien, dass sie als Ägypter bezeichnet wurden; vgl. auch Świderek (1961).

<sup>119</sup> Vgl. Pol. 30.20.7.

<sup>120</sup> l. 9-11 (Prosa): διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐστεφανώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνι χαλκεῖ, ἣ ἀνάκειται ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ (“he was rewarded by the god for his piety with a bronze statue which is dedicated in the sanctuary of the god”).

<sup>121</sup> l. 13-18 (Prosa): ὁ θεός μοι ἔχρη | μάτισεν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὅτι Σαραπιεῖον δεῖ | αὐτῷ ἀναδειχθῆναι ἴδιον καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐν μισ | {σ}θωτοῖς καθὼς πρότερον, εὐρήσειν τε τόπον | αὐτὸς οὐ δεῖ ἔδρασθῆναι σημαίνειν τε τὸν | τόπον. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. (“the god sent an oracle to me in my sleep, that a private Sarapieion must be dedicated to him and that it must not be in rented lodgings as before, and that he would discover the place himself where it was to be founded, and he would indicate the place; which did indeed happen”).

<sup>122</sup> l. 22-25 (Prosa); ausführlicher im Hymnus l. 66-74.

<sup>123</sup> Vgl. Moyer (2011) 159-160.

<sup>124</sup> Vgl. Moyer (2011) 197.

kündigte den Sieg an, der durch ein Wunder von Seiten der Götter zustande kam.<sup>125</sup>

Leider erfahren wir in den beiden Inschriften fast nichts über den dort stattfindenden Kult. Es wird lediglich von Rauchopfern gesprochen.<sup>126</sup> Eine Inschrift, die nach 166 v.Chr. datiert und die sich auf einer Basis aus blauem Marmor befindet, die eine Statuette trug, könnte hier weiterhelfen:

Ξενότιμος Ξενοτ[ίμου κ]αὶ Νिकासὼ Ἱπποκράτου Δῆλιοι  
ὕπερ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ἰατρεῖα θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις Σαρά-  
πιδι, Ἰσιδι, Ἀνουβίδι χαριστήριον, ἐπὶ ἱερῶς Δημητρίου  
τοῦ καὶ Τελεσαρχίδου Δηλίου, ἐπιμελομένου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ  
τὰς θεραπέας αἰτοῦντος Ὁρου τοῦ Ὁρου Κασιώτου.<sup>127</sup>

Ein Elternpaar aus Delos war ins Sarapieion A gekommen, um Heilung ihres Sohnes bei Sarapis, Isis und Anubis zu erwirken. Die Inschrift belegt, dass die Heilung kostenpflichtig war. Offenbar haben die Eltern als Dank auch eine Statuette geopfert, die allerdings nicht mehr aufzufinden ist.

Der Priester, der bei der Heilung behilflich war, trägt einen ägyptischen Namen. Horos, der Sohn des Horos, kam wohl ursprünglich aus Kasion, das sich nicht weit von Pelusion in Ägypten befindet. Wie andere Inschriften zeigen, erhielt er seine Ausbildung am Iseion von Kasion.<sup>128</sup>

Die Art der Heilung wird aus der Inschrift leider nicht klar. Es ist zu vermuten, dass es sich hier um Inkubationsriten handelt. Dafür sprechen könnte auch eine Inschrift, die sich allerdings im Sarapieion C befindet. Es handelt sich hier um ein Heiligtum, das vor 150 v.Chr. errichtet wurde.<sup>129</sup> Hier war allerdings nicht die oben vorgestellte ägyptische Priesterfamilie aus Memphis tätig, sondern jährlich wechselnde Priester.<sup>130</sup> Eine

<sup>125</sup> Prosatext l. 25-28; Hymnus l. 75-92.

<sup>126</sup> Hymnus l. 40: καὶ σε φίλως θυέ<ε>σσιν ἀρέσσαιτο ("and in kindly manner pleased you with smoky offerings").

<sup>127</sup> *RICIS* 202/0197; Sarapieion A: "Xenotimos, Sohn des Xenotimos und Nikaso, Tochter des Hippokrates, Delier, (haben geweiht) zugunsten (der Heilung) ihres Sohnes Xenophon das ärztliche Honorar den Göttern, die Gebete erhören, Sarapis, Isis (und) Anubis als Zeichen des Dankes, als Demetrios, der auch Telesarchides genannt wird, aus Delos, Priester war, als Horos, Sohn des Horos, vom Berg Kasion ἐπιμελητής des Sanktuars und derjenige, der um die Heilungen bat, war."

<sup>128</sup> Bricault *RICIS* I 229; vgl. *RICIS* 202/0199-0200, wo dieser Priester wieder in Erscheinung tritt.

<sup>129</sup> Das haben neuere archäologische Untersuchungen ergeben; vgl. Siard (2009) 157-158.

<sup>130</sup> Dies lässt sich anhand von Opferinventaren erfassen, die in mehreren griechischen Inschriften enthalten sind; z.B. *RICIS* 202/0203. Dazu auch: Bricault (1996), v. a. 610-611 und Moyer (2011) 203-204.

Inscription auf einer Basis ist an Sarapis von Kanopos gerichtet.<sup>131</sup> Da, wie oben gezeigt wurde, in Kanopos Heilung durch Inkubation betrieben wurde, lässt sich daraus schließen, dass wohl auch auf Delos derartige Handlungen betrieben wurden.

Auch weitere Inschriften könnten darauf hinweisen. So werden in einigen Texten so genannte Traumdeuter (ὄνειροκρίται) benannt.<sup>132</sup> Es handelt sich vorwiegend um Weihungen an Sarapis, Isis (und Anubis). Die folgende Inschrift, die im Sarapieion C gefunden wurde, zeigt den Dank eines solchen Traumdeuters: Σαράπιδι, Ἰσιδι, Ἀ[νούβι]δι Ἰ' Ἀριστοκῶδης Δημαρήτου Ἰ Δῆλιος, ὄνειροκρίτης, χαριστήριον.<sup>133</sup>

Auch Formulierungen wie κατὰ πρόσταγμα (auf Anordnung) oder καθ' ὄραμα (durch Vision) lassen auf die Existenz von Orakeln schließen, die auch Heilorakel beinhalten können. Im Sarapieion C finden sich zudem zwei Inschriften, die bezeugen, dass auf dem Gebiet des Heiligtums Asklepios verehrt worden ist. Bei der ersten Inschrift handelt es sich um eine Marmorplakette, die zweite Inschrift wurde auf einem Altar angebracht. Beide Belege stammen aus der Zeit nach 166 v.Chr., als Delos sich unter athenischer Herrschaft befand:

Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ὑγιείας Ἰ [-]ατάλογος<sup>134</sup>  
Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰ Ἀσκληπιῶ<sup>135</sup>

Für die Asklepiosverehrung sprechen auch zahlreiche Reste von Geflügelopfern (Hennen und Hähne), die, so Siard, häufig bei Heilgöttern, insbesondere bei Asklepios anzutreffen sind.<sup>136</sup> Die weite Porticus könnte ebenfalls in Parallele zu den Asklepieien als Ort dienen, an dem die Kranken empfangen wurden, die zum Schlaf in das Sanktuar kamen.<sup>137</sup>

Interessant ist hier auch, dass es unterschiedliche Heiligtümer auf Delos gab. Sarapieion A wurde von Ägyptern gegründet. Sarapis wurde hier verehrt, möglicherweise nach ägyptischem Ritus, was sich aber nicht belegen lässt. Auch in der folgenden Zeit, sogar noch nach 166 v.Chr. unter athenischer Herrschaft wurde das Sanktuar von ägyptischen

<sup>131</sup> RICIS 202/0370: Σαράπιδος Ἰ τοῦ ἐν Καν[ώ]πῳ, Ἰ Φιλήμων (“des Sarapis von Kanopos, (geweiht von) Philemon”).

<sup>132</sup> RICIS 202/0217, 202/0245, 202/0283, 202/0284, 202/0289, 202/0340-41, 202/0372.

<sup>133</sup> RICIS 202/0217 Delos, kurz nach 166 v.Chr.: “An Sarapis, Isis (und) Anubis, Aristokydes, Sohn des Demaretos, Delier, Traumdeuter, als Zeichen des Dankes.”

<sup>134</sup> RICIS 202/0375: “des Asklepios und der Hygieia.”

<sup>135</sup> RICIS 202/0376: “Apollonios an Asklepios.”

<sup>136</sup> Siard (2009) 160; vgl. auch Balty (2004) 76.

<sup>137</sup> Siard (2009) 160.

Priestern verwaltet, die ihre Herkunft nicht verschleierten, wie das Beispiel in *RICIS* 202/0197 zeigt, in der sich ein Priester Horos, Sohn des Horos von Kasion, nennt.

Auch in anderen griechischen Heiligtümern von ägyptischen Göttern war es in dieser Zeit üblich, dass Ägypter den Kult betreuten. So sind z.B. aus dem Sarapis-, Isis- und Anubistempel in Priene genaue Vorschriften zur Wahl eines ägyptischen Priesters überliefert. Die Inschrift stammt aus der Zeit um 200 v.Chr. und wurde auf einem quadratischen Block im Tempel der Isis gefunden.<sup>138</sup> Hier wird betont, dass der Priester die Opfer auf ägyptische Art und Weise ausüben soll und dass kein anderer die Opfer für die Göttin ohne Autorisation durch den Priester durchführen darf. Als Strafe für die Nichtachtung dieser Vorschrift sollen ihm 1000 Drachmen auferlegt werden und gleichzeitig soll er vor den Archonten angeklagt werden.<sup>139</sup> In Priene gibt es zudem noch eine weitere Besonderheit, die sich nur selten in Sarapis- und Isisheiligtümern der griechischen Welt nachweisen lässt. In Zeile 15/16 der eben genannten Inschrift wird davon gesprochen, dass der Priester auch an Apis zu den Zeiten opfern soll, an denen das üblich ist.<sup>140</sup> Dies spricht dafür, dass in den Heiligtümern, die von Ägyptern betreut wurden, auch noch die Erinnerung an den ursprünglichen Kult in Memphis erhalten blieb.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass der Kult des Sarapis als Heil- und Orakelgott offenbar so beliebt war, dass er sich von Ägypten kommend sehr schnell — bereits im 3./2. Jh. v.Chr. verbreitete. Maßgeblich beteiligt waren hochstehende Privatleute. Das waren in erster Linie Ägypter, die dann ihr Priestertum an die nachfolgenden Generationen vererbten. Später entstanden aber auch Heiligtümer, die nach griechischem Vorbild mit jährlich wechselnden Priesterschaften verwaltet

<sup>138</sup> *RICIS* 304/0802 Priene.

<sup>139</sup> *RICIS* 304/0802 Priene: l. 20-25: παρέ[ξ]ε[ται δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ] | τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τὸν συντελέσοντα τῇ[ν ] | μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ μηθεὶ ἄλλω ἀπείρως τῇ[ν] θυσίαν ποεῖν τῇ[ι] | θεᾷ ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως · εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλος ἀπείρως ποιῇ, ζημιούσ[θ]ι[θ]ω δραχμὰς χιλίας καὶ ἔστω φάσις αὐ[τοῦ] πρὸς τοὺς ἄρ[χ]ον[τα]ς. (“Der Priester wird auch den Ägypter stellen, der ausführen wird [---]. Es soll keinem anderen gestattet sein, unkundig das Opfer zu verrichten an die Göttin als dem Priester; und wenn irgendein anderer (dies) unkundig tut, soll er bestraft werden mit einer Buße von eintausend Drachmen, und es soll Anzeige gegen ihn bei den ἄρχοντες erstattet werden”; Text und Übersetzung: Merkelbach & Blümel (2014).

<sup>140</sup> l. 15-16: θύ[σει δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς] | καὶ τῶι [“A]πιδι ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς νο[μί]μοις ---] (“Der Priester wird auch Apis opfern zu den Zeiten, an denen [dies üblich ist ---]”; Text und Übersetzung: Merkelbach & Blümel (2014)).

wurden. Auch in Griechenland lässt sich die Verbindung zum Heilgott Asklepios nachweisen.

Die jeweiligen Herrscher — Ptolemäer, Seleukiden, Antigoniden — aber auch die griechischen πόλεις standen der Etablierung des Kultes nicht im Wege. Die große Ausdehnung des Ptolemäerreiches im 3. Jh. v.Chr. und die hervorragende Verwaltungsorganisation erleichterten vermutlich sogar die Ausbreitung.

Leider sind wir über die Riten, die in diesen Heiligtümern stattfanden, nicht sehr gut informiert, was vielleicht auch damit zusammenhängt, dass diese geheim waren. Eine Ausnahme bilden die Sarapieen aus Delos, wo sich inschriftliche und archäologische Zeugnisse für den dort stattfindenden Heil- und Orakelkult fanden. Sarapis wirkte zunächst als Orakelgott, der konkrete Anweisungen in bestimmten Situationen gab und u. a. bestimmte, wo Heiligtümer errichtet werden sollten; er war aber auch Heilgott, wie z.B. die Inschrift aus Delos bezeugt, die aus Dankbarkeit von einem Elternpaar für die Heilung des Sohnes angebracht worden war.

#### ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Zum Ende soll noch einmal die anfangs gestellte Frage aufgegriffen werden, warum ausgerechnet ein Gott mit so offensichtlich ägyptischen Wurzeln eine solche Popularität gewinnen konnte und an die Seite von traditionellen Heilgöttern wie Asklepios trat.

Die Frage des Weiterlebens nach dem Tod beschäftigte die Griechen außerordentlich. So gewannen insbesondere auch Mysterienkulte wie in Eleusis und Delphi in der hellenistischen Zeit an Bedeutung. Osorapis als Orakelgott konnte die Bedürfnisse der Ionier und Karer, die seit dem 6. Jh. v.Chr. in Memphis lebten, nun hervorragend befriedigen. Darüber hinaus war in Memphis auf dem Gebiet des späteren Sarapieion auch der Heilgott Imhotep, der von den Griechen mit Asklepios gleichgesetzt wurde, prominent. Von dort konnte sich der Kult verbreiten und wurde ins neu gegründete Alexandria transferiert.

Im griechischen Bereich erhielt der Gott Osorapis einen anderen Namen — Sarapis. Es änderten sich mit dem Beginn der Ptolemäerzeit aber auch die Wesenszüge des Gottes: Er wurde mit griechischen Göttern wie Pluto und Dionysos gleichgesetzt, die ebenfalls den Unterweltsaspekt verkörperten, verschmolz mit dem Heilgott Imhotep-Asklepios und übernahm zudem die Allmachtseigenschaften von Zeus, Amun und Pluto. Das



spiegelt sich auch in seiner Ikonographie wider: Er wurde nun im griechischen Bereich nur noch selten als Stier oder Mann mit Stierkopf dargestellt, sondern als bärtiger Mann, der anderen Gottheiten ähnelte.<sup>141</sup>

In Memphis und anderen Orten wurden bisher verschiedene Götter in unterschiedlichen Kultkomplexen verehrt. Jetzt verkörperte ein einziger Gott die Eigenschaften aller dieser Götter.<sup>142</sup> Das hat möglicherweise mit der geänderten historischen Situation zu tun. Die jeweiligen griechischen *πόλεις* wurden jetzt von quasi omnipotenten Herrschern regiert, wenn sie auch bis zu einem gewissen Grad ihre Unabhängigkeit beibehielten.<sup>143</sup> Wenn ein Herrscher über unumschränkte Macht verfügte, dann muss ein Gott diesem Herrscher zumindest gleichwertig, wenn nicht gar überlegen sein.

Die Griechen nahmen jedoch Sarapis und auch seine Gefährtin Isis als ägyptische Götter wahr. Das könnte damit zusammenhängen, dass manche Sanktuare, in denen diese Gottheiten verehrt wurden, nach ägyptischem Vorbild organisiert waren und von Ägyptern oder deren Nachfahren geleitet wurden. In Delos wirkte in Sarapieion A eine ägyptische Priesterfamilie, deren Vorfahren aus Memphis stammten; das Amt wurde vererbt. In Priene sollte ausdrücklich ein Ägypter die Opfer durchführen.

Günstig für die Verbreitung des Kultes waren nun die Größe des Ptolemäerreiches und die vorherrschenden administrativen Strukturen. Verbreitet wurde der Kult wohl vor allem von hochstehenden Privatleuten, aber auch von Beamten des ptolemäischen Staates. Dies wurde wohlwollend vom Königshaus unterstützt.

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<sup>141</sup> Ausnahmen von dieser Regel sind jedoch möglich; vgl. die Basaltstatue eines Apisstiars aus dem Griechisch-Römischen Museum in Alexandria Inv. 351 aus der Zeit des Hadrian, die am Eingang zu den unterirdischen Galerien des Serapeums von Alexandria gefunden wurde; vgl. McKenzie (2004) 98 mit weiterer Literatur.

<sup>142</sup> Vgl. zum Henotheismus im Falle von Sarapis Versnel (2011) 289-300.

<sup>143</sup> Vgl. zum Verhältnis vom hellenistischen Herrscher zu den *πόλεις* in Kleinasien Ma (1999).

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## THE EMERGENCE OF THE PTOLEMAIC HONORIFIC COURT TITLES\*

*Abstract:* A Greek inscription discovered in an Artemis temple in Alexandria must be dated between 220 and 210/9. The title τῶν πρώτων φίλων, held by the honorand of the inscription, is not the earliest attestation of a honorific court title, but identifies the holder as an officer of the royal infantry guard. The designations *philos*, *prôtos philos*, *somatophylax*, *archisomatophylax* and *diadochos* were already used in the third century as “real” court titles for members of the royal entourage and royal (body)guard. In the 190s these titles were incorporated into the system of the purely honorific aulic titulature.

### INTRODUCTION

In 2014 the following Greek inscription from a temple of Artemis (also called *Boubasteion*) in Alexandria was published in this journal<sup>1</sup>:

1. [Μ]εγαμήδην τῶν πρώτων φίλων,  
τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τραλέων [Θ]ραικῶν, καὶ τῶν παραγενομένων  
[ἀπ]ὸ τῆς Λιβύης Μασύλ[ω]ν σὺν αὐτοῖς προσκειμένων,  
[καὶ τῶ]ν Περσῶν καὶ Κυρηναί[ω]ν συν<σ>τρατευομένων,
5. [ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐν[οί]ας εἰς βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον  
καὶ βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην, θεοὺς Φιλοπάτορας,  
καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς υἱωνοὺς καὶ τὰ  
πράγματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν, ἀψεγέως  
καὶ φιλοτιμίαι.

The main conclusions of the editors regarding this text can be summarized as follows:

- The inscription dates from the last years of the reign of Ptolemy IV<sup>2</sup>;
- The designation τῶν πρώτων φίλων demonstrates, against the prevailing opinion, that the Ptolemaic honorific court titles were already introduced before the reign of Ptolemy V<sup>3</sup>;

\* Dates in this paper are BC, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>1</sup> Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 151-161 (*TM* 380605). The inscription is briefly discussed by Fischer-Bovet (2014) 293; Fischer-Bovet (2015a) 9; Fr. Kayser, *Bull. épigr.* (2015) 636-637 (no. 729); Pfeiffer (2015) 13 with n. 33; Fischer-Bovet (2016) 126 n. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 153-154.

- Megamedes, the holder of the court title, probably was a *hipparch* of one of the numbered *hipparchies*<sup>4</sup>.

In his seminal studies on the Ptolemaic court titulature, published about forty years ago, Leon Mooren argued that the purely honorific court titles were introduced sometime between 197 and 194/3<sup>5</sup>. In this period, the traditional denominations for persons attached to the royal court, the *philoi*, *somatophylakes* and *archisomatophylakes*<sup>6</sup>, were incorporated into a broader system of purely honorific titles, which were bestowed on persons who not actually belonged to the royal retinue, but received a title *honoris causa*, correlated to their public office and not to their person<sup>7</sup>. After the introduction of the purely honorific titles, officials thus could be designated by both their court title and the title of their office. Mooren's sometimes rather rigid interpretation of the system of honorific court titles has been subject to criticism<sup>8</sup>. It has become clear that there was not always a rectilinear evolution of the court titles attached to a given office, which sheds doubt on Mooren's theory that a court title was always related to the office itself and not to the individual official holding the office<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore, there is not always as clear-cut a dichotomy between 'real' and 'honorific' titles as assumed by Mooren<sup>10</sup>; for simplicity's sake I will, however, continue to use his terminology.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 156-157.

<sup>5</sup> See Mooren (1977) 50-51, followed, *inter alia*, by Huß (2001) 524; Veisse (2004) 183; Fischer-Bovet (2014) 96.

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of the holders of a real court title, see Mooren (1975) 51-80.

<sup>7</sup> For a brief outline of the system, see Mooren (1975) 1-2. Cf. Mooren (1977) 41, for his view on the difference between "real" titles and "honorific" titles: "La différence entre le titre effectif et le titre honorifique se situe essentiellement dans le contenu: le premier exprime un lien réel avec la personne du roi, le second établit un lien fictif avec le prince".

<sup>8</sup> See for instance Thomas (1983) 204.

<sup>9</sup> Demonax, *strategos* of the Arsinoites in 166 (*P. Erasm.* I 3), held the title τῶν φίλων, whereas Ptolemaios, one of his predecessors (Mooren [1975] 98-99 no. 067), was already ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ. Similarly, in the Herakleopolites, the *strategos* Teres (Mooren [1975] 108 no. 097) was τῶν φίλων in the years 155-146, while his predecessor Ptolemaios (Mooren [1975] 108 no. 096) belonged to the rank τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων: see *P. Münch.* III, p. 11-12 (D. Hagedorn); *P. Phrur. Diosk.* I, p. 56 comm. l. 3 (J.M.S. Cowey). Cf. Mooren (1984) 1224 n. 48; *P. Heid.* IX, p. 116-117 (Ch. Armoni). Hagedorn (*P. Münch.* III, p. 12) concludes that before 145 "... die Verbindung zwischen Amt und Titel höchstens eine Regel war, von der abzuweichen die Möglichkeit bestand, indem einen Beamten z.B. wegen besonderer Verdienste ein höherrangiger Titel verliehen wurde, als mit seinem Amt von vornherein verbunden war".

<sup>10</sup> See Strootman (2014) 166, who introduces the term "honorific offices", because "real" titles could be practical and honorific at the same time; in the same sense already Savalli-Lestrade (1998) 373-374.

One part of Mooren's thesis, namely that the system of honorific court titles was not the result of a gradual evolution but a creation of Epiphanes' regents in the 190s, was never challenged until the publication of the inscription from Alexandria. If the editors of this document are right, these titles would have emerged at least a decade earlier, which potentially has far-reaching consequences. First, a new *terminus post quem* would have to be used for undated documents in which honorific court titles appear. More importantly, a reappraisal of Egypt's interior policy in the reign of Ptolemy IV would be needed. For these reasons, it is imperative to carefully scrutinize the editors' interpretation of the inscription. In doing so, I will limit myself to a discussion of the origin of the honorific titles and the date at which they appear, without investigating the underlying reasons why the system was created and the role it played in the power play at the Ptolemaic court. Neither will I reopen the discussion at which Hellenistic court — Ptolemaic, Seleucid or Antigonid — the honorific aulic titles first appeared.

#### THE DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION

The editors assign the text to the last years of Ptolemy IV, who died in 204, because they believe that only a short time can have elapsed between the erection of the inscription — with the alleged honorific court title — and the next attestation of such a title, commonly dated to the years 197–194/3<sup>11</sup>. However, by taking as their starting point to date the inscription their assumption that Megamedes bears an honorific court title (and not a 'real' title), they seem to be running into a circular argument. I think it is safer to use other internal evidence of the inscription to determine its date.

The reference to "the sons and grandsons" (l. 7) of the reigning couple Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III is rightly regarded by the editors as anomalous. Since the only known child of the couple is the future Ptolemy V, who was probably born on 30 Mesore in Philopator's 12th year (= 9 October 210), but certainly before 13 January 209<sup>12</sup>, they assume either that the text refers to a second, prematurely deceased son<sup>13</sup>, or that the

<sup>11</sup> Their opinion is not challenged by Fischer-Bovet (2015a) 35 n. 68, Pfeiffer (2015) 13 n. 33, or Fr. Kayser, *Bull. épigr.* (2015) 637 (no. 729).

<sup>12</sup> The crown prince is for the first time mentioned in *P. BM Andrews* 18, from Choiak, year 13 (= 13 January – 11 February 209).

<sup>13</sup> If the text is taken literally, the appearance of grandsons is of course even more difficult to explain: see Pfeiffer (2015) 13 n. 33. Two inscriptions from Cyrene are

phrase expresses a pious wish for additional (male) offspring after Epiphanes' birth.

In my opinion, the lack of a specific reference to Ptolemy V speaks strongly in favour of a date before 210/9. Since the royal couple already married in 220<sup>14</sup>, the birth of an heir was no doubt eagerly anticipated. When Arsinoe III, ten years after the matrimony, finally gave birth to a son, this joyous event was celebrated by inserting the name of the crown prince in the official dating formula of Greek and demotic documents<sup>15</sup>. The crown prince is also consistently mentioned in Greek inscriptions from the period after his birth, both in Egypt<sup>16</sup> and outside the country<sup>17</sup>. I find it hard to believe that the dedicators of the inscription, belonging to military units in the service of the king, would have taken the liberty to deviate from common practice<sup>18</sup> and to use a phraseology of their own, if Ptolemy V was already born at the time the inscription was carved. I think that the general reference to the “sons and grandsons” demonstrates that the king and queen did not yet have any children, but that the dedicators simply expressed their hope that the couple would be blessed with plenty of offspring in the future<sup>19</sup> and that Megamedes would retain the favour of Philopator and his successors.

believed to contain a reference to “children” of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III — *SEG XVIII* 732 (*SB VIII* 10079) and *SEG XVIII* 733 (*SB VIII* 10080) — but the element καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν is based on unwarranted restorations by Fraser (1959) 112 (no. 5) and 113 (no. 6); the more plausible restoration καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῶν has exactly the same number of letters.

<sup>14</sup> For the date of their marriage, before October – November 220, see Lanciers (1988).

<sup>15</sup> See *P. BM Andrews* 18 (13 January – 11 February 209); *P. Gurob I* 12 (5 June 209); *P. Hauswaldt Manning* 14 (11 June – 10 July 208); *P. BM Andrews* 28 (13 December 208); *P. Loeb* 61 (12 March – 10 April 205).

<sup>16</sup> *I. Pan* 85; *I. Philae* I 5; *I. Philae* I 7; *I. Delta* I 749-750 no. 13; *I. Delta* I 1036-1037 no. 2; Bowman e.a. (2016) 104-106 no. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Paphos: Mitford (1960) 109-111 (cf. Bagnall [1976] 253 with n. 7); Methymna (Lesbos): *IG XII* suppl. 115? (for a discussion of the date, see now Criscuolo [2017] 7-8); Eresos (Lesbos): *IG XII* suppl. 122 (see Bagnall [1976] 161); Ilion/Sestos: *I. Ilion* 44; Thera: *IG XII.3* 1389; Xanthos: *SEG XXXVIII* 1476; and probably Cyrene: see n. 13.

<sup>18</sup> The formula ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας εἰς βασιλέα in l. 5 fully corresponds to the phraseology expected in this kind of inscriptions. The same phrase appears in *I. Alex. Ptol.* 27, *I.ThSy* 190 and *I. Fayoum* I 13, three inscriptions which likewise emanate from (temporary) military associations: see Lanciers (2017) 119-120. Cf. Mitford (1938) 105, regarding inscriptions from Cyprus: “With these formulae the dedicator is invariably an official body — a κοινόν or some category of troops, a city, an association”.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 161: “La sollicitude de Mégamédès, et celle des soldats avec lui, s’adresse donc à une descendance plutôt à venir ...”. It is perhaps no coincidence that the inscription was set up in a sanctuary of Artemis / Bastet, a goddess associated with fertility: cf. Fr. Kayser, *Bull. épigr.* (2016) 551 (no. 550).

Therefore, I conclude that the inscription must have been erected some-time between 220 and 210/9.

#### ΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ AS AN HONORIFIC COURT TITLE

If both my proposal for the date of the inscription and the editors' assumption that τῶν πρώτων φίλων in the document must be regarded as the earliest instance of an honorific court title are correct, this would imply that the system of honorific court titles was introduced about 15 to 20 years before the date proposed by Mooren. In the hierarchy of court titles τῶν πρώτων φίλων ranked as the second highest title, only preceded by συγγενής<sup>20</sup>. To determine whether Megamedes really received such an important honorific title, I will first discuss all the attestations of τῶν πρώτων φίλων until the end of the reign of Ptolemy V<sup>21</sup>.

1. 194/3-186/4: Polykrates son of Polykrates (Mooren [1975] 209 no. 0390)

The city of Lapethos on Cyprus honoured Πολυκράτην Πολυκράτους Ἀργεῖον, τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως, with a statue, because of his virtue and care for Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I<sup>22</sup>. The inscription can be dated between 194/3, the moment of the marriage of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I<sup>23</sup>, and the birth of Ptolemy VI about 186/4<sup>24</sup>. The office of Polykrates, who was the son of Polykrates son of Mnasiadas, *strategos* of Cyprus in the period 204/3-197/6<sup>25</sup>, is not indicated in the text<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> For the ranking of the titles, see Mooren (1977) 24-36.

<sup>21</sup> For the rejection of some alleged attestations of τῶν πρώτων φίλων in third-century sources, see Mooren (1977) 17 n. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Mitford (1938) 118 (*TM* 704343).

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of their wedding date, see Lanciers (2014) 381-383.

<sup>24</sup> See below p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> Bagnall (1976) 253-255.

<sup>26</sup> About his function only conjectures can be made. Mitford (1938) 118, surmised that "he was perhaps the ἐπιστάτης of Lapethos"; he changed his view in Mitford (1961) 18, where he states in regard to Polykrates (and his brother Ptolemaios): "They were not city commandants, for that office is freely recorded at this time. Rather, they had, like their father in his youth, some military command". The latter assumption is clearly influenced by his questionable restoration of Polykrates' name in *I. Kitton* 2023 (*TM* 47689), from the reign of Ptolemy VI, where he would appear in connection with mercenaries; see however J.-B. Cayla, *Bull. épigr.* (2005) 572 (no. 559), regarding the doubtful reconstruction and date. Mooren (1975) 209 no. 390, cautiously lists Polykrates under "The remaining titleholders".

## 2. 194/3-180: Anonymous (Mooren [1975] 210 no. 0391)

In an inscription which could also originate from Lapethos, an official whose name is lost in a lacuna bears the title τῶν πρώτ[ων φίλων]<sup>27</sup>. Mitford suggests two possible supplements for the lacuna after the court title: τὸν γενόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως or — less likely in his opinion — τὸν γραμματέα τῶν δυνάμεων. Mooren, however, rejects both supplements and plausibly suggests to simply restore τοῦ βασιλέως, as in the inscription discussed under no. 1<sup>28</sup>. The inscription must be dated after the royal marriage in 194/3; the year 180 is the *terminus ante quem*, because it is unclear whether the lacuna in l. 5 contained a reference to only one or several children of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I.

## 3. 187: Komanos (Mooren [1975] 82-85 no. 042)

A Greek papyrus, dated to 8 March – 6 April (or 4 September – 3 October) 187, contains in ll. 7-10 a copy of a letter<sup>29</sup>:

- (7) [Πάιτι. τὸ] ἀνγελιφὸς πλοῖον τὰ πρὸς Κομανὸν τῶν πρώτων [φίλων]  
[ ]γοίτ[ ] ἀπεσταλμένα χρήματα, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιπλ[εύσει (?) ὁ δεῖνα]  
[τῶν ἡγε]μόνων, καλῶς ποιήσεις παραπέμψας ἀσφαλῶ[ς ἕως τοῦ]  
[ἐγδέξασθαι αὐτὸ τοὺς περὶ Ἀκῶριν.

For the lacuna in ll. 7-8 several suggestions were made. Westermann, the first editor of the papyrus, proposed to supplement [καὶ στρατηγὸν τοῦ Ἀρσι]γοίτ[ου]<sup>30</sup>. This was rejected by Mooren, who suggested that Komanos was the first known *epistrategos* and restored accordingly τῶν πρώτων [φίλων καὶ ἐπι-][στράτηγον ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρσι]γοίτ[ου]<sup>31</sup>. However, Thomas already doubted that the name of an office should be inserted in the lacuna<sup>32</sup> and he is followed in the latest re-edition of the text (*P. Col.* VIII 208), where the reading τὰ πρὸς Κομανὸν τῶν πρώτων [φίλων] [ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρσι]γοίτ[ου] ἀπεσταλμένα χρήματα is accepted.

That Komanos was simply known as τῶν πρώτων φίλων, without addition of a specific office, is confirmed by the second Philae Decree of

<sup>27</sup> Mitford (1939) 22 no. 10 (*TM* 112686).

<sup>28</sup> Mooren (1977) 195-196.

<sup>29</sup> *P. Col.* VIII 208 (*TM* 43871); on the general context of the document, see Clarysse (1991) 241-242, and on the date Hauben (1988) 207, who prefers March-April 187.

<sup>30</sup> Westermann (1939) 2.

<sup>31</sup> Mooren (1975) 82-83, and Mooren (1977) 82. His identification of Komanos as an *epistrategos* is followed, amongst others, by Huß (2001) 511; Veisse (2004) 182.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas (1975) 112 n. 200.



6 September 186<sup>33</sup>, where he appears as someone who belongs to the *imj-ib.w tpj.w n.w hm.f*, an expression which must be the Egyptian equivalent of τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως<sup>34</sup>.

As regards the function of Komanos, nothing much can be added to the opinion of Thomas: “I should regard him as an official of extraordinary powers appointed in an emergency situation, which certainly in some ways approximates to the post of an epistrategos. What title he held while fulfilling this function we do not know”<sup>35</sup>.

#### 4. 187: Ptolemaios (Mooren [1975] 178 no. 306)

A document from the so-called Bodleian Corn Archive, dated to 6 June – 7 July 187, mentions a certain Ptolemaios, τῶν πρώτων φίλων, who apparently owns a flotilla (στόλος<sup>36</sup>) of river boats used to transport grain from the Koptites nome to Syene<sup>37</sup>. There is no indication of Ptolemaios’ office. While Mooren identifies him with the homonymous *archikynegos* who also bears the title τῶν πρώτων φίλων (see below no. 6)<sup>38</sup>, Hauben makes the more plausible suggestion that he was a brother of Komanos (no. 3): both Komanos and Neon, another brother, are indeed attested in other texts from the same archive<sup>39</sup>.

#### 5. c. 190-187 (?): Anonymous (Mooren [1975] 180 no. 0315)

The title τῶν πρώτων φίλ[ων] appears on a papyrus fragment from the archive of Nikias<sup>40</sup>. The date of the archive can be determined by using

<sup>33</sup> *Urk.* II 217 l. 6 (*TM* 48339).

<sup>34</sup> That Komanos appears in this decree as the commander who defeated Chaonnophris, was first recognized by Peremans & Van ’t Dack (1953) 27-28; on the writing of his name, see now also Nespoulous-Phalippou (2015a) 305 n. 685 (*Gim’nws*).

<sup>35</sup> Thomas (1975) 112. Cfr. Mooren (1977) 80: “Fort tentante est l’hypothèse selon laquelle Komanos aurait rempli une tâche purement militaire, celle de général. Dans ce cas, il a sans doute atteint un grade militaire très élevé, peut-être celui de στρατηγός”; he finally rejected this hypothesis to regard Komanos as the first *epistrategos*. The first explicitly attested *epistrategos* is Hippalos, who perhaps appears in a text referring to year 17 of Ptolemy V (189/8), albeit without a title: see Gorre (2010).

<sup>36</sup> For the interpretation, see Hauben (1988) 209 n. 23.

<sup>37</sup> *SB* VI 9367.2 recto l. 2 (*TM* 5740).

<sup>38</sup> Mooren (1981) 299 n. 67.

<sup>39</sup> Hauben (1988) 209-210; a fourth brother, Aratomenes, is also attested as a ship-owner in 185/4: Clarysse (1981).

<sup>40</sup> *SB* VI 9505 (*P. Med. Inv.* 35b verso); this fragment was not republished in *P. Med.* I.2 21.

some new readings of Clarysse for *P. Med.* I 21a and 21b<sup>41</sup>. These two fragments are not part of the same document, but must be separated. *P. Med.* I 21b, a letter from Herakleidas to Nikias, mentions in l. 4 a certain Komanos. The verso contains a date which was not read by Daris: (ἔτους) ιε Μεσορῆ ιζ. Since the archive must be dated in the early second century, the 15th year should be attributed to the reign of Ptolemy V (191/0) or the joint reign of Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II (167/6). The verso of *P. Med.* I 21a, a letter of Noumenios to Demetrios, also contains a date: the element transcribed as τῆς in l. 5 must in fact be read as (ἔτους) ιη Ἐ[πειφ]. Here the 18th year points to the reign of Ptolemy V (188/7) or of Philometor (164/3). Since Komanos was still active under Ptolemy VI and a certain Noumenios was *strategos* of the Thebaid in the years 173-170, one could be inclined to attribute the dates to the reign of Ptolemy VI. However, Komanos was sent by Ptolemy VIII as his envoy to the Roman senate in 162 (Polyb. 31.19.2), which makes it plausible that he accompanied Ptolemy VIII to Cyrene immediately after the end of the king's sole reign, which ended before 17 August 163 (19 Epeiph, year 18 of Ptolemy VI)<sup>42</sup>. It is therefore unlikely that the date "Epeiph, year 18" may be connected with the reign of Philometor (= 30 July – 28 August 163). When we accept the date 21 September 190 for *P. Med.* I 21b and 5 August – 3 September 187 for *P. Med.* 21a, the fragment with the title τῶν πρώτων φίλ[ων] no doubt belongs to the same period. The Nikias archive from Milan, the Spemminis archive from the same collection<sup>43</sup>, the Bodleian Corn Archive and *P. Col.* VIII 208 all apparently illustrate the preparations for the recapture of Upper Egypt under the command of Komanos. Whether the anonymous τῶν πρώτων φίλ[ων] in our fragment is to be identified with Komanos himself, his brother Ptolemaios or a third person must remain open.

6. 186/3-180: Ptolemaios son of Ptolemaios (Mooren [1975] 175 no. 0290)

In an inscription from Philae, Kleon son of Diogenes, *hegemon* and *phrourarchos*, makes a dedication to Ptolemy V, Cleopatra I and Isis, ὑπὲρ

<sup>41</sup> I thank Willy Clarysse for allowing me to use his observations and new readings.

<sup>42</sup> *C. Ord. Ptol.*<sup>2</sup> 35 l. 4: from the fact that amnesty was given for all crimes until 19 Epeiph, year 18, may in my opinion be inferred that the change of regime happened on or before that date (17 August 163). Mooren (1977) 75, also accepts that Komanos was already in Cyrene in September 163.

<sup>43</sup> Clarysse (1979) 102.

Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐμένους, Καστορείου, τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ ἀρχικυνηγοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀγαθοκλείας καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀρχισωματοφύλακος καὶ ἀρχικυνηγοῦ<sup>44</sup>. Bingen attributes the inscription to the year 187: since the crown prince is not mentioned, the text was in his opinion conceived before the birth of Ptolemy VI — an event he dates to 186 — and at a time when the recapture of the Thebaid was already well under way<sup>45</sup>. However, it is far from certain that 186 really was Philometor's year of birth. As already noted by Otto, this event may be placed as late as 184/3, which leaves enough time to allow for the birth of all three children of Ptolemy V before his death in 180<sup>46</sup>. It is, therefore, not clear whether the *archikynegoi* participated in the recapture of Upper Egypt or were involved in the military reorganisation of the region after the victory<sup>47</sup>.

Ptolemaios, τῶν πρώτων φίλων and *archikynegos*, also appears in a Greek inscription from Alexandria, which was set up by an association of Lycian soldiers to honour his son<sup>48</sup>. Since several children of the royal couple are mentioned in this inscription, it is younger than the previous one<sup>49</sup>.

#### 7. c. 190-180 (?): And[romacho]s (?) (Mooren [1975] 210 no. 0392)

For completeness sake, an inscription from Kourion must be mentioned, which honours a certain And[romacho]s (?), τῶν [πρώτ]ων φίλων<sup>50</sup>. After the court title follows a long lacuna in ll. 2-3, for which Mitford proposes following supplement: [— — — τῶν κατὰ τὴν] νῆσον καὶ ἀ[πὸ τῆς — — —]ης. He states that “the honorand may have been priest ... of Apollo, for all Cyprus” and further assumes the presence of a second administrative office<sup>51</sup>, but the proposed restorations are unsubstantiated<sup>52</sup>. The date

<sup>44</sup> *IThSy* 314 (*TM* 47410).

<sup>45</sup> Bingen (1979) 305; cf. Mooren (1981) 296, and Huß (2001) 510 n. 42.

<sup>46</sup> Otto (1934) 7; for the year of Epiphanes' death (180 instead of the year 181 mentioned by Otto), see *P. Köln* X, p. 59-60.

<sup>47</sup> Mooren (1981) 297, believes that Ptolemaios may have prepared a visit of Ptolemy V to Philae, but we have no indications that the king really travelled to the south. Cf. Locher (1999) 135.

<sup>48</sup> *I. Alex. Ptol.* 27 (*TM* 6315); for the interpretation, see Lanciers (2017) 117-123. The inscription *I. Philae* I 9 (*TM* 44051) cannot be used to illustrate the career of the *archikynegoi*: Bingen (1979) 306.

<sup>49</sup> Mooren (1975) 175, dates the text more generally to the period between 186 and 180.

<sup>50</sup> *I. Kourion* 44 (*TM* 704302).

<sup>51</sup> *I. Kourion*, p. 98.

<sup>52</sup> See Bagnall & Drew-Bear (1973) 216: “In truth, this inscription cannot at present be restored, and the historical conclusions drawn from these restorations and this text are without basis in fact”.

is only based on the lettering, which in Mitford's opinion "seemingly precludes a later date than the reign of Epiphanes"<sup>53</sup>. As regards the identity of And[romacho]s, Mitford suggests that he might have been the grandson of Ptolemaios of Megalopolis, who was *strategos* of Cyprus between 196 and 180<sup>54</sup>. Due to the uncertain date and interpretation the document is of little value for the present discussion.

An inscription from Itanos on Crete can no longer be used to study the holders of the title τῶν πρώτων φίλων under Epiphanes' reign<sup>55</sup>. Guarducci dates this dedication, which mentions Philotas son of Genthios<sup>56</sup>, τῶν πρώτων φίλων, *chiliarchos* and *phourarchos*, to 204-180 on the basis of the letter forms. Fraser, on the other hand, is inclined to date the text under Ptolemy VI<sup>57</sup>; we know that Ptolemaic troops were sent to Itanos under his reign<sup>58</sup>. A date under Philometor finds support in Bingen's plausible supplement Φιλώτα]ς Γενθίου [Ἐπιδάμνιος(?) τῶν] πρώτων [φίλων καὶ φρούραρχο(?)]ς in an inscription from Philae from the reign of Ptolemy VIII<sup>59</sup>. Philotas thus held the title τῶν πρώτων φίλων under the reigns of Epiphanes' sons<sup>60</sup>.

My overview of the earliest testimonies for the title τῶν πρώτων φίλων strongly suggests that all the identifiable titleholders (nos. 1, 3, 4, 6) belonged to the uppermost echelons of Ptolemaic society. A short presentation of the three families involved will show that their important role at the Alexandrian court is discernible from the third until well into the second century.

Polykrates of Argos<sup>61</sup> arrived in Egypt shortly before the start of the preparations for the fourth Syrian War (Polyb. 5.64.4-6) and his family

<sup>53</sup> *I. Kourion*, p. 97.

<sup>54</sup> *I. Kourion*, p. 97-98. Bagnall (1976) 255, regards this identification as "possible", whereas Nachtergaele (1975) 254, finds the restoration "loin d'être assuré". Michaelidou-Nicolaou 33 no. 37, does not identify him with the grandson of Ptolemaios (*ibid.*, no. 38).

<sup>55</sup> *I. Cret.* III IV.14 (TM 47907).

<sup>56</sup> Mooren (1975) 200-201, nos. 367-368.

<sup>57</sup> Fraser (1972) II 169 n. 343, 189 n. 81, 395 n. 428.

<sup>58</sup> Bagnall (1976) 122.

<sup>59</sup> *IThSy* 318 ll. 10-12 (TM 88948). See Bingen (1981) 134-135; cf. Scheuble (2010) 41-43; Viviers (2011) 48-50.

<sup>60</sup> The assumption of Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 153, with n. 7, that the inscription of Philotas may be an indication for the existence of honorific court titles at the beginning of Epiphanes' reign should, therefore, be rejected.

<sup>61</sup> *PP* II & VIII 2172, VI 15065; IJsewijn (1961) 103-105 no. 117; Michaelidou-Nicolaou (1976) 99-100 no. 34.

was almost directly honoured by the appointment of his father Mnasiasdas, a famous athlete, as eponymous priest in 218/7<sup>62</sup>. Polykrates himself was the commander of the cavalry of the guard and the Libyan and Egyptian horsemen at Raphia (Polyb. 5.65.5, 82.3, 84.8)<sup>63</sup>. His relatives still resided in Alexandria at the time of the downfall of the regent Agathokles in 205/4 (Polyb. 15.29.10), but shortly thereafter Polykrates must have left to become governor of Cyprus, where he collected a considerable sum of money for the king (Polyb. 18.55.6). In 197 he returned to Egypt to organise the coming-of-age ceremony (*anakleteria*) of the young Ptolemy V (Polyb. 18.54.1, 55.4). After the fall of Aristomenes, somewhere between 195 and 192, he became the leading court official. Probably in early 186 he subdued a rebellion of Egyptians dynasts in the Delta (Polyb. 22.17.3-6)<sup>64</sup>. After that date Polykrates, who owned a fleet of riverboats<sup>65</sup> as well as a stable of prize winning horses<sup>66</sup>, disappears from our sources. His daughter or granddaughter Hermione, however, was *athlōphoros* in 170/69<sup>67</sup> and his grandson Polykrates is attested as an eponymous officer in the period 160-150<sup>68</sup>. The family thus maintained a prominent position for around at least 70 years.

Nothing is known about the position of Komanos' ancestors: since his father had the undistinctive name Ptolemaios, no convincing identification can be proposed<sup>69</sup>. Komanos<sup>70</sup> himself was probably involved in a

<sup>62</sup> *PP* IX 5200b; Clarysse & Van der Veken (1983) 14-15 no. 73; Michaelidou-Nicolaou (1976) 84 no. 40.

<sup>63</sup> See also Fischer-Bovet & Clarysse (2012) 33, 34, regarding the possibility that he acted as an eponymous officer in the period after Raphia.

<sup>64</sup> For the date, see Walbank (2002) 77-78. Polykrates is also mentioned in a fragment of an historical work preserved on papyrus, probably dealing with an armed conflict with Egyptian rebels: Renner (1975).

<sup>65</sup> *PP* V 14134.

<sup>66</sup> The family won victories at the Panathenaic games: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2313 ll. 8-9, 12-15: in 194/3; ll. 59-62: in 190/89; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2314 ll. 47-50, 53-54 (?), 92-97: in 182/1.

<sup>67</sup> *PP* III & IX 5119; IJsewijn (1961) 103-105 no. 117; Clarysse & Van der Veken (1983) 26-27 no. 121. Cf. Mooren (1981) 293-294.

<sup>68</sup> *PP* II & VIII 1980, 4312; Mooren (1975) 179 no. 0307; Fischer-Bovet & Clarysse (2012) 34.

<sup>69</sup> In *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> II 585 ll. 141-142, only Ptolemaios and Neon appear as sons of Ptolemaios, but it is commonly accepted that Komanos and Aratomenes in ll. 143-144 are their brothers. Welles (1965) 96-97, 100-101, believes that Ptolemaios son of Chrysermos might have been Komanos' father, while Walbank (1979) 353, suggests that Ptolemaios (II) the *archikynegos* and Ptolemaios the brother of Komanos are in fact one and the same person, but there is no hard evidence to support either view.

<sup>70</sup> *PP* I & VIII 194a, 270, II & VIII 1833, IV 10087a, VI 14611; IJsewijn (1961) 102 no. 114; *P. Köln* XIII 520.

first recapture of the Thebaid about 191/0 (see above no. 5). In the period June – December 188 he and his brothers Ptolemaios, Neon and Aratomenes<sup>71</sup>, together with other Ptolemaic officials, were honoured as *proxenoi* in Delphi; they probably were on a mission to recruit mercenaries for the final battle against Chaonnophris. After his victory on 27 August 186, for which he may have been rewarded with a gift estate<sup>72</sup>, we lose track of Komanos for some time, but his brother Aratomenes is attested as a ship-owner in 185/4<sup>73</sup>. Komanos himself re-appears in the reign of Ptolemy VI, when he and Kineas replaced Eulaios and Lenaïos as tutors of the young king (Polyb. 28.19.1). Kleainete, *athlophoros* in 173/2 and *kanephoros* in 172/1, was in all likelihood his daughter<sup>74</sup>. In 163 Komanos sided with the younger brother Ptolemy VIII and followed him to Cyrene; a year later he was sent together with his brother Ptolemaios to the Roman Senate (Polyb. 31.19.2, 20.1). Probably because of its support of Ptolemy VIII the family was still prominent in 136/5, when a daughter of Aratomenes was *kanephoros*<sup>75</sup>. Whether the Komanos who holds the title *archisomatophylax* in a papyrus from the second century was related to the family, cannot be established<sup>76</sup>.

Important genealogical information about the family of the *archikynegos* and τῶν πρώτων φίλων Ptolemaios is found in the inscription from Philae (see above p. 56-57). Ptolemaios' father Eumenes may have been involved in elephant hunting expeditions to Ethiopia in the mid-third century and may be identical with an eponymous officer attested around 240-238<sup>77</sup>. Ptolemaios himself appears for the first time in book XVIII of Polybius, dealing with the years 198-197: when Aristomenes son of Menneas — the regent of the young Ptolemy V — and the Ptolemaic

<sup>71</sup> Ptolemaios: *PP* VI 14781, 14947; Neon: *PP* VI 14932; Aratomenes: *PP* VI 14890.

<sup>72</sup> The estate is only attested in the second century AD (*P. Ryl.* II 207a l. 4), but since Hakoris, who supported Komanos, may also have received a *dorea* at this time — see Clarysse (1991) 243 — we are probably dealing with our Komanos.

<sup>73</sup> Clarysse (1981).

<sup>74</sup> Clarysse & Van der Veken (1983) 25 nos. 118-119.

<sup>75</sup> Clarysse & Van der Veken (1983) 32-33 no. 155. According to IJsewijn (1961) 103, Ptolemais, eponymous priestess in 172/1 and 171/0 (Clarysse & Van der Veken [1983] 24-27 nos. 119-120), may have been a daughter of Komanos' brother Ptolemaios; this identification cannot be proved.

<sup>76</sup> *P. Köln* XIII 520 (*TM* 219336).

<sup>77</sup> *PP* II & VIII 1899, 1904, 4420. *Strabo* 16.4.10, 4.13, mentions a "Grove of Eumenes" and a "Harbour of Eumenes" in Ethiopia, located near elephant hunting-grounds: see Mooren (1981) 298. The identification with the eponymous officer is accepted by Fischer-Bovet & Clarysse (2012) 30.

commander Skopas struggled for power, the house of the latter was surrounded with soldiers and elephants and Ptolemaios son of Eumenes was sent in with a troop of *neaniskoi* to bring him before the royal council (Polyb. 18.53.7-11). The ties between Aristomenes and the family of the *archikynegoi* were strengthened through Ptolemaios' marriage with Agathokleia, the daughter of Aristomenes (Polyb. 15.31.9)<sup>78</sup>. In the last years of Epiphanes' reign Ptolemaios and his homonymous son were honoured by the *phourarch* of Philae and an association of Lycian soldiers. Under Ptolemy VIII the younger Ptolemy operated in the southern border area: together with his sons Ptolemaios, Timarchos and Kallikrates he appears in an inscription from Elephantine, maybe as a military *strategos*<sup>79</sup>.

In view of the important positions of the holders of the honorific title τῶν πρώτων φίλων under Ptolemy V and the leading role of their families, it seems not too daring an assumption that Megamedes — should he really be the first known holder of this honorific court title — must also have belonged to the uppermost court echelon. I will, therefore, examine which role he might have played under Ptolemy IV.

#### THE POSITION OF MEGAMEDES

The name of the honorand in the inscription is in fact mutilated, but the editors retain Megamedes as the sole possible reading<sup>80</sup>. This name is rare and not otherwise attested in Egypt<sup>81</sup>. In contrast to the courtiers presented above, Megamedes is absent from Polybius' detailed presentation of the Ptolemaic command structure at Raphia, his lengthy account of the conflicts in Alexandria at the time of Ptolemy V's accession to the throne, a narrative which contains the names of several courtiers and officials involved in the events<sup>82</sup>, and from the more fragmentary preserved accounts of later conflicts between Epiphanes' regents. Furthermore, there is no sign of Megamedes, his ancestors or his offspring in

<sup>78</sup> On the identification of Aristomenes' daughter Agathokleia (Polyb. 15.31.9) and the homonymous wife of Ptolemaios mentioned in *IThSy* 314, see Mooren (1981) 297.

<sup>79</sup> *IThSy* 243; see Mooren (1981) 297-298, who notes that Ptolemaios son of Ptolemaios, eponymous priest in Ptolemais in 153/2, may belong to the same family.

<sup>80</sup> Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 152.

<sup>81</sup> See *TM Nam* 39513.

<sup>82</sup> For an overview, see the diagram in Mooren (1985) 216.



the lists of eponymous priests or eponymous officers<sup>83</sup>, offices traditionally held by the families of high-ranking courtiers.

To determine Megamedes' function the editors point to similarities between the military units in the inscription and the troops mentioned by Polybius in his narrative of the preparations for the battle against Antiochus III: "Polykrates undertook the training of the horsemen of the guard, about seven hundred strong, and the horsemen from Libya and those enlisted in the country (τοὺς ἐγχωρίους); all of whom, numbering about three thousand, were under his command"<sup>84</sup>. The Libyans and Cyreneans of the inscription may have been part of Polybius' Libyan cavalry. The "Persians" — probably descendants of soldiers settled in Egypt before the Macedonian conquest<sup>85</sup> — could be identical with Polybius' "enchoric" soldiers, who are not to be regarded as ethnic Egyptian *machimoi*, but as the *katoikoi hippeis* from Egypt in contrast to foreign mercenaries. The editors furthermore assume that the Thracians from the inscription belonged to the seven hundred horsemen of the guard<sup>86</sup>. They consequently identify Megamedes as an *hipparch* and — since he apparently commanded horsemen from diverse origins — regard him as the commanding officer of a numbered *hipparchy*, which in their opinion might have been stationed in Alexandria<sup>87</sup>.

This hypothesis is unconvincing<sup>88</sup>. Even the editors remark that "on pourrait s'étonner qu'un hipparque, si Mégamédès en était un, portât le titre aulique très élevé de «membre des premiers amis»"<sup>89</sup>. To explain this anomaly they point to Mooren's observation that *hipparchs* could receive different court titles depending on the importance of their *hipparchy* or the place where they were stationed<sup>90</sup>. However, Mooren also

<sup>83</sup> For the discussion of the eponymous officers before and after the battle of Raphia, see Fischer-Bovet & Clarysse (2012) 29-34.

<sup>84</sup> Polyb. 5.65.5: τοὺς δ' ἵππεις τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ὄντας εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, Πολυκράτης παρεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Λιβύης, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους· καὶ τούτων αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο πάντων, περὶ τρισχιλίουσιν ὄντων τὸν ἀριθμόν.

<sup>85</sup> For a discussion of the identity and origin of the "Persians" in a military and civilian context, see *P. Count.* II 158-159; Fischer-Bovet (2014) 186-187; Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 160.

<sup>86</sup> Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 155-156.

<sup>87</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 156-157.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Fr. Kayser, *Bull. épigr.* (2015) 637 (no. 729): "Cette hypothèse est peut-être un peu hardie..."

<sup>89</sup> Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 156. Compare Carrez-Maratray (2014) 87, where even the lower title τῶν φίλων is regarded as exceptionally high for an *hipparch* under the reign of Ptolemy V.

<sup>90</sup> Mooren (1977) 166.

states that the honorific titles of the *hipparchs* were generally rather low; the first one to attain the rank of τῶν πρώτων φίλων was a certain Ammonios, who in 118 combined his office as an *hipparch* with the *strategy* of the Thinites, a situation which no doubt explains his high title<sup>91</sup>. That the situation was certainly different in the early second century is illustrated by the case of Agathis, who was both *hipparch* and *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome in the years 199-198, but did not hold a court title<sup>92</sup>. The editors, furthermore, suggest that Megamedes may have received an important title because he commanded soldiers stationed in the capital; they even compare his unit with the guards at Buckingham Palace in London and the Elysée in Paris<sup>93</sup>. This view is contradicted by an inscription from the reign of Ptolemy VI, which was set up in Paphos on Cyprus by a certain Kallikles son of Kallikles, ὁ ἀρχισωματοφύλ[αξ καὶ ἐπὶ] τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεῖ[αι ἱππέων] καὶ διδάσκαλος [τοῦ βασιλέως] τακτικῶν<sup>94</sup>. This document shows that the commander of the royal cavalry in Alexandria still held a lower court title in the second century than the title purportedly awarded to Megamedes in the late third century.

If we are to accept that Megamedes received a honorific court title as a cavalry officer, he must have ranked above the *hipparchs* of the ethnic or numbered *hipparchies* and even above the commander of the royal horse guard. This seems improbable, since even the supreme commanders of the cavalry did not hold the honorific court title τῶν πρώτων φίλων in this period. For Polykrates of Argos, who commanded the Ptolemaic cavalry at Raphia, several inscriptions are preserved from a later stage in his career, when he was governor of the important island of Cyprus (203-197)<sup>95</sup>. On none of these monuments does he hold a court title. While the governor's modesty could be a reason why he omitted such a title on the base of the statue he dedicated to the king, this explanation cannot hold true for the inscriptions which the city of Paphos or a private Alexandrian woman set up for the governor or members of his family<sup>96</sup>. Although an

<sup>91</sup> Mooren (1975) 123-124 no. 0134; Mooren (1977) 123-124.

<sup>92</sup> See *SB* XXIV 16295 (*TM* 12997) with Sosin & Oates (1997) 253-255, and *SB* XX 14183 (*TM* 7421) with Clarysse & Lanciers (1989) 125-126.

<sup>93</sup> Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 157.

<sup>94</sup> Mitford (1961) 20-21 no. 53; see also 21-22 no. 54, which confirms the connection with the cavalry. For Kallikles, see Mooren (1975) 21 and 172-173 no. 0279; *SEG* XLI 1478.

<sup>95</sup> All these inscriptions come from Paphos; Mitford (1961) 15-18 nos. 40-46.

<sup>96</sup> The argument of Carrez-Maratray (2014) 86 n. 15, that the aulic title of Polykrates — in his opinion probably *syngenes* — is omitted in the inscriptions because of the novelty of the title, is unconvincing.

*argumentum e silentio* must always be used with caution, the absence of an honorific court title for Polykrates is certainly striking.

In the second Philae decree (186) Komamos' victory over Chaonophris is announced by Aristonikos, "the confidant of his Majesty, the loved one of the king, the chief of the horsemen" (*mḥ-ib n ḥm.f mrj nsw ḥrj ḥrp-nfr.w*)<sup>97</sup>; the same titles appear in a decree of 182, commemorating Aristonikos' victory over the rebels in the area of Diospolis Mikra in the Delta<sup>98</sup>. The demotic version of Philensis II — [*ḥrj*] *n n3 ḥjplgs* — indicates that Aristonikos stood at the head of the *hip-parchs* and was therefore the supreme cavalry commander<sup>99</sup>. Whether we may recognize honorific court titles in the Egyptian expressions *mḥ-ib n ḥm.f* and *mrj nsw* is not clear, but usually the term *mrj nsw* is regarded as the equivalent of τῶν φίλων<sup>100</sup>. Recently the theory was put forward that a certain Aristonikos, who bears the court title *snw (n) mhw n nsw* ("brother of the family of the king" = *syngenes*) in the hieroglyphic inscription on his statue<sup>101</sup>, is the same as the officer from the reign of Ptolemy V<sup>102</sup>. Even if this hypothesis should be true, the title *snw (n) mhw n nsw* does in any case not occur in the decrees of 186 and 182<sup>103</sup> neither does the title *imj-ib.w tpj.w n.w ḥm.f* (= τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως). When we may take Polybius' statement that Aristonikos was the *syntrophos* of Ptolemy V at face value (Polyb. 12.22.1), he must have been somewhere between 25 and 30 years in the last years of the king's reign, which would leave ample time for a further development of his career and subsequent promotions to higher ranks of the court titulature.

Since Megamedes did apparently not belong to the same social stratum as the holders of the honorific title τῶν πρώτων φίλων under Ptolemy V

<sup>97</sup> *Urk.* II 217.4-5; Nespoulous-Phalippou (2015a) 122, 316.

<sup>98</sup> Nespoulous-Phalippou (2015a) 120, 336: *mrj (?) n ḥm.f mḥ-[ib] n nsw ḥrj ḥrp-nfr.w*.

<sup>99</sup> Nespoulous-Phalippou (2015a) 122-123; Nespoulous-Phalippou (2015b) 163.

<sup>100</sup> Mooren (1975) 146; Mooren (1977) 165; Nespoulous-Phalippou (2015a) 122; Nespoulous-Phalippou (2015b) 159. Otherwise Carrez-Maratray (2014) 87, who does not regard *mrj nsw* as the honorific court title τῶν φίλων, but as the "real" court title *philos*.

<sup>101</sup> Guermeur (2000) 73 (text) and 74-75 (commentary).

<sup>102</sup> Carrez-Maratray (2014). Nespoulous-Phalippou (2015b) 175-181 does not reach a clear-cut conclusion.

<sup>103</sup> Rather oddly Carrez-Maratray (2014) 87 uses the unproven hypothesis that Polykrates was at the same time a *philos* (real court title) and a *syngenes* (honorific court title) to conclude that the same holds true for Aristonikos. His view is clearly not supported by our sources.

and even the most important cavalry commanders did not receive the second highest court title until well into the second century, the editors' interpretation of Megamedes' title is unlikely. We must, therefore, look for an alternative explanation.

#### ΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ AS A MILITARY TITLE

Before they concluded that Megamedes holds an honorific court title, the editors of the inscription considered the possibility that τῶν πρώτων φίλων is not an honorary title but a military grade; they referred in this context to sources where the group τῶν πρώτων φίλων appears in close relationship with *chiliarchoi* and *machairophoroi* ("sword-bearers") of the court<sup>104</sup>. They even admitted that this interpretation has some advantages: "Cela aurait l'avantage de faire de Mégamédès un «premier ami» au sens militaire du terme, l'un de ces officiers supérieurs que l'on ne rencontrait que dans l'entourage immédiat du souverain (περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς, περὶ τὸ σῶμα) «dans la cité» et «à la cour». Mégamédès aurait été «l'un des premiers amis» avant que ce groupe ne donne son nom, sous Epiphane, au deuxième grade de la hiérarchie aulique"<sup>105</sup>. Ultimately, they rejected this hypothesis and preferred to regard τῶν πρώτων φίλων as an honorific court title.

There are several instances where τῶν πρώτων φίλων is used in connection with specific military units:

#### 1. Dionysios son of Athenagoras (Mooren [1975] 174 no. 0286)

A papyrus, which on palaeographical grounds is attributed to the early second century, mentions a certain Dionysios son of Athenagoras, an Olynthian, who was entered in the soldiers register as Nikolaos son of Onesimos, τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ ἐκ μαχαιροφόρων<sup>106</sup>. Dionysios swears that he will use the two silver drachmae he receives every month from the royal treasury to pay the interest on a loan of 400 silver drachmae.

<sup>104</sup> Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 153-154.

<sup>105</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 154.

<sup>106</sup> *P. Ryl.* IV 585 ll. 41-43 (*TM* 8144). Mooren (1975) 174 no. 0286, relates the 24th year in l. 9 of the document to the reign of Ptolemy V = 182/1.

## 2. Collective title (Mooren [1975] 10 no. 2)

Between c. 141 and 116, the *syngenes* and *epistrategos* Apollodoros, who was also the tutor of the young prince Ptolemy Alexander, was honoured by οἱ παρεπιδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ, ὄντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐτὴν<sup>107</sup>.

## 3. Collective title (Mooren [1975] 10 no. 3)

In the late second century (about 103?) a dedication was set up in Kition by οἱ ἐν Κιτίῳ [τα]σσόμενοι πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ ἀρχισωματο[φύ]λακες καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν [καὶ] περὶ τὸ σῶμα μαχαιροφόροι, to honour Ptolemy IX, who at that time reigned over Cyprus<sup>108</sup>.

## 4. Arrhenides son of Koderdos (Mooren [1975] 173 no. 0281)

In an inscription from Arsinoe, Arrhenides son of Koderdos, from the (probably) Cilician town Syrbenda, presents himself as belonging to τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ χ(ιλι)ά(ρχων) καὶ περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς μαχαιροφόρων. He erects a pylon for Zeus, Athena and the *politeuma* of the Cilicians. The text, which mentions a year 10, probably dates from the last quarter of the second or to the first century (108/7, 72/1 or 43/2)<sup>109</sup>.

## 5. Philon – Patroklos

Philon and Patroklos appear in three papyri from the period 87-86 with the title τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν μαχαιροφόρων καὶ ἐπίπλων<sup>110</sup>. They are involved in the transport of grain by royal ship from the Herakleopolites to the royal granary in Alexandria.

## 6. Anonymous

The group τῶν πρώτων φίλων is also mentioned, together with the μαχαιροφόροι, in the unpublished *P. Berol.* 25912 from 77<sup>111</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> *I. Fay.* I 5 = *SB* I 1568 (*TM* 6629).

<sup>108</sup> *I. Kition* 2003 (*TM* 704303).

<sup>109</sup> *I. Louvre* 22 = *I. Fay.* I 15 (*TM* 5687); see also Sängner (2015).

<sup>110</sup> *BGU* XVIII 2736 (*TM* 69811), 2737 (*TM* 69812), 2738 (*TM* 69813). Philon and his colleague Patroklos also appear in the unpublished *P. Berol.* 25808: see *BGU* XVIII, 65 comm. to l. 15.

<sup>111</sup> *BGU* XVIII, 65 comm. to l. 15.

## 7. Philippos son of Timokrates (Mooren [1975] 173 no. 0282)

An inscription from 29 July 70 contains a petition to the royal couple from Philippos son of Timokrates, a Corinthian, with a plea to grant *asylia* to two sanctuaries in the village of Theadelphia<sup>112</sup>. He presents himself as a member τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ χ(ιλι)ά(ρχων) καὶ περὶ ὁμᾶς μαχαιροφόρων.

## 8. Dorion (Mooren [1975] 174 no. 283) – Dionysios (Mooren [1975] 174 no. 284) – Isidoros son of Isidoros (Mooren [1975] 174 no. 285)

In a papyrus from the period 80-51, Dorion appears as προστάτης συνόδου μγ τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ χ(ιλι)ά(ρχων) καὶ περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς μαχαιροφόρων (ll. 3-4), while Dionysios is *grammateus* of the same military association in the Herakleopolites<sup>113</sup>. The soldier Isidoros no doubt also belonged to this group; apparently part of his pay was to be withheld, because of debts he had incurred in Alexandria.

## 9. N (Mooren [1977] 214 no. 285a) – Herakleitos (Mooren [1977] 214 no. 0285b)

A very fragmentary inscription from the Arsinoites, dated to “the late Ptolemaic period”, mentions a *prostates* of the [σύνοδος τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ χ(ιλι)ά(ρχων) καὶ περὶ τοὺς βασιλέας μαχαιροφόρων μγ]<sup>114</sup>. By analogy with no. 8, the title of Herakleitos in the text may probably be restored as [γραμματε]ύς and not as [ἐρε]ύς.

## 10. Karadyses son of Philoteros (Mooren [1975] 174 no. 0287)

An inscription of unknown provenance, probably to be dated in the second half of the second or the early first century, honours Karadyses son of Philoteros, who acted as *gymnasiarch* in an 8th year<sup>115</sup>. He was a fellow soldier (συνστρατιώτην) of the dedicators of the inscription, who present themselves as πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι λογχοφόροι εἰδους Βιθυνῶν δευτέρων.

<sup>112</sup> *I. Prose* 37 = *I. Fay.* II 114 (*TM* 7237).

<sup>113</sup> *BGU* IV 1190 (*TM* 4525).

<sup>114</sup> *I. Fay.* I 17 = *SB* I 624 (*TM* 42999); see also *SEG* LXIII 1655.

<sup>115</sup> *SB* IV 7456 = *SEG* VIII 357 (*TM* 6459); on the date and provenance, see Fraser (1972) II 169 n. 343, 491 n. 215.

## 11. Apollophanes son of Bion (Mooren [1975] 175 no. 0288)

A request to the royal couple to grant *asylia* to a local temple is preserved in an inscription from Euhemeria (5 May 69); the letter is written by Apollophanes son of Bion, τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ χιλιάρχων λογχοφόρων<sup>116</sup>.

## 12. Straton son of Nikomachos

A papyrus from Oxyrhynchos (57/6) contains a cession of catoecic land. One of the parties is Straton son of Nikomachos, who belongs to the group [τῶν πρ]ώτων φίλων καὶ χιλιάρχ[ω]ν μαχαιροφό[ρ]ων καὶ τῶν κ[ατοίκων ἰ]ππέων (ll. 7-8)<sup>117</sup>.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this overview. Although the holders of the title τῶν πρώτων φίλων mostly appear in documents from the Egyptian *chora*, they are also associated with Alexandria (nos. 2, 5, 8)<sup>118</sup>, more specifically with the rulers and the royal court (nos. 2, 4, 7, 8, 9) or the office of the *dioiketes* (no. 5). They are always attested in a military context and often appear in close relationship with members of the royal guard on foot, the *machairophoroi* or “sword-bearers” (nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12)<sup>119</sup>. At first sight more difficult to explain is the association with the *chiliarchs* (nos. 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12). This term usually designates an officer of an infantry unit of thousand soldiers, but since in some cases they are called “sword-bearing” (no. 12) or “spear-bearing” *chiliarchs* (nos. 10, 11), officers of the royal guard must be meant<sup>120</sup>; this seems to be confirmed by the expression πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐλὴν (no. 2). In one case only, a group of soldiers outside the household troops is mentioned, namely the *katoikoi hippeis* (no. 12). The assumption of some scholars that we are not dealing with purely military units, but with mixed groups composed of both civilian officials and military men<sup>121</sup>, is not supported by our sources.

<sup>116</sup> *I. Prose* 38 = *I. Fay.* II 135 = *SB* III 6154 (*TM* 7230).

<sup>117</sup> *P. Oxy.* LV 3777 (*TM* 5253).

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Kortenbeutel (1941) 101-102.

<sup>119</sup> See for this guard, Fischer-Bovet (2014) 150-152.

<sup>120</sup> All these *chiliarchs* appear under the heading “La Garde Royale” in *PP* II & VIII, nos. 4335-4336 and 4338-4342.

<sup>121</sup> So for instance — in connection with our no. 2 — Launey (1949-1950) 1016, and E. Bernard, *I. Fay.* I, 29. The correct interpretation in Peremans & Van ’t Dack (1953) 11: “La dédicace est faite par des militaires de la garde royale, originaires de la cité d’Alexandrie et séjournant actuellement dans l’Arsinoite”.



The testimony from Kition (no. 3), dating from the period when Ptolemy IX was in exile from Egypt and only ruled over Cyprus, confirms the picture of the Egyptian documents. In this case also, the appearance of both civil officials — designated with the honorific titles *πρῶτοι φίλοι* and *ἀρχισωματοφύλακες* — and military officers was assumed by modern scholars<sup>122</sup>. Mitford, however, already drew attention to the use of *τασσόμενοι* in the inscription: “It is remarkable to find the holders of high court rank treated here as officers of the army”<sup>123</sup>. In my opinion, both the *πρῶτοι φίλοι* and the *ἀρχισωματοφύλακες* are to be regarded as soldiers. It leaves no doubt that even after the introduction of the honorific court titles the term *archisomatophylax* continued to be used in its original meaning, designating a member of the royal bodyguard<sup>124</sup>. The view that the *πρῶτοι φίλοι* and the *ἀρχισωματοφύλακες* were members of Soter II’s personal guard in Cyprus, which must have been modelled after the royal guard in Alexandria, is supported by their association with the *περὶ τὸ σῶμα μαχαιοφόροι*<sup>125</sup>; the *ἡγεμόνες ἐπ’ ἀνδρῶν* in the inscription can be compared with the *χιλίαρχοι* in the sources from Egypt. The text from Kition echoes a monument from Cyrene, where Ptolemy VIII is honoured by a group consisting of *διάδοχοι*, *σωματοφύλακε[ς]* [*ἀργυ*] *ρῶι συβίνηι*, *ὑπασπισταί*, *ἐπίλεκτοι* *καὶ πλείονες*<sup>126</sup>: the context makes clear that the *diadochoi* and *somatophylakes* are military officers<sup>127</sup>.

Mooren assumes that the members of the military units discussed under nos. 1-12 collectively received the honorific court title *τῶν πρῶτων φίλων*, although he recognizes that there is a marked difference between

<sup>122</sup> See for instance Bagnall (1976) 52: “... it is remarkable in juxtaposing men whom one thinks of as courtiers with aulic rank and those more overtly a part of the military...”.

<sup>123</sup> Mitford (1939) 35.

<sup>124</sup> See Mooren (1975) 8, regarding the use of *somatophylax* and *archisomatophylax* as a real court title after the introduction of the honorific titles: “It is not inconceivable, and even highly likely, that they can still hold this meaning thereafter, but this cannot be demonstrated with certainty in an actual case”. Concerning the title *archisomatophylax*, see also *PP* II, XIII: “Il est impossible de déterminer dans chaque cas particulier si le texte désigne un titre aulique ou une fonction réelle”.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Mitford (1939) 35: “... it was clearly the function of these troops to guard the king’s person”.

<sup>126</sup> Oliverio e.a. (1961-1962) 288-289 no. 117a, with Bagnall (1973) 123-124. A different restoration of the text is proposed by Piejko (1981) 105-107 (= *SEG* XXXI 1574).

<sup>127</sup> See Mooren (1975) 10 (“a group of crack troops”), and Mooren (1977) 33-35. Otherwise Piejko (1981) 107, who — apparently without knowing Mooren’s discussion of the text — regards the inscription as “a dedication of Officers Designated for Succession to the Body-Guards”.

such collective titles and the titles granted individually to officials: “a soldier belonging to the corps of the *πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι καὶ περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς μαχαιοφόροι* and a governor with the title *τῶν πρώτων φίλων* are both *πρῶτοι φίλοι*, but the court title does not possess the same value in the two cases”<sup>128</sup>. His interpretation leaves unexplained, however, why the Ptolemaic government — already in the early second century (see no. 1) — would have devaluated its second highest honorific court title by conferring it upon a large group of soldiers, which — if we accept Mooren’s proposal of a collective grant — must at least have comprised all the *machairophoroi* of the court<sup>129</sup>. Furthermore, the idea of a collective grant would clearly invalidate Mooren’s own conclusion that the introduction of the honorific court hierarchy was specifically aimed at distinguishing the higher officials from the “lesser mortals”<sup>130</sup>. I agree with the editors of the Alexandrian inscription, who regard *τῶν πρώτων φίλων* in a military context as a designation for a group of supreme officers (see above p. 65), that we are dealing with a military title and not with an honorific court title given to all royal guardsmen.

Some arguments could possibly be adduced against the view that *τῶν πρώτων φίλων* designates Megamedes’ military rank instead of an honorific title: the term never seems to appear on its own but always alongside other officers or soldiers, and all testimonies discussed above date from the second or first century, *i.e.* after the introduction of the aulic titlature. However, these objections are based upon the generally accepted but in fact unproven premise that in all cases where *τῶν πρώτων φίλων* appears without an additional indication of the holder’s office, only the honorific title can be meant, and that a date before the reign of Ptolemy V is therefore excluded. In my opinion, there are other instances where the title may denote a military office. Since Karadyses son of Philoterus, a member of the group *πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ χιλίαρχοι λογχοφόροι*, was honoured as a *gymnasiarch* (no. 10), it is not unlikely that holders of the military title *τῶν πρώτων φίλων* appear in other texts

<sup>128</sup> Mooren (1975) 9. See also Mooren (1977) 34 (“... troupes de garde portant des titres auliques en guise de titres honorifiques”), 164 (“Dans la Maison Militaire du roi, nous rencontrons également des détachements qui sont pourvus d’un titre aulique”), 172 (“... unités de garde qui portent un titre aulique dans leur blason, c’est-à-dire qu’ils possèdent collectivement un grade aulique”), and 205 (“Les distinctions sont attribuées individuellement à une série de fonctionnaires, mais également collectivement à certains groupes de militaires”).

<sup>129</sup> See above p. 67 nos. 8-9, for local military associations with 143 and 148 members.

<sup>130</sup> Mooren (1981) 300.

related to the milieu of the *gymnasia*. In an inscription on a statue base from Thmuis in the Delta, Leonides son of Philotas, Macedonian and τῶν πρώτων φίλων (Mooren [1975] 183 no. 0339), who acted as *gymnasiarch* in the 30th year of a Ptolemaic ruler, is honoured by his homonymous son, who is also τῶν πρώτων φίλων (Mooren [1975] 184 no. 0340)<sup>131</sup>. Although it cannot be ruled out that father and son simultaneously held an office that entitled them to the same honorific court title, it is equally possible that both men were members of the royal guard. Unfortunately, the inscription cannot be precisely dated. The original attribution to the third century (294/3 or 255/4) is rejected on palaeographical grounds by Bingen, who suggests the years 152/1, 141/0 or 88/7<sup>132</sup>; Fraser prefers 141/0<sup>133</sup>. Another inscription from Thmuis honours Philoxenos son of Eukleides (Mooren [1975] 182 no. 335), also a Macedonian and τῶν πρώτων φίλων, who was *gymnasiarch* in a 17th year<sup>134</sup>. Without specific arguments, several scholars date the inscription in the second century, which implies that the 17th regnal year can only be attributed to the reign of Ptolemy V (189/8). Mooren, on the other hand, accepts a date in the first century — in the reign of Ptolemy X (98/7) or Ptolemy XII (65/4) — but he does not offer convincing reasons to exclude the second-century date<sup>135</sup>.

The link with the *gymnasion* and the absence of a civil or military office is, admittedly, no absolute proof that in these two cases τῶν πρώτων φίλων has a military sense. It suffices to point to an inscription from Arsinoe from the first century, a dedication set up by Ἀπολλών[ι]ος Ἀρτεμ[ιδόρο]υ [ὁ συ]γγενῆς καὶ κοσμητῆς [καὶ γ]υμνασί[α]ρχος (Il. 4-6): *syngenes* is here clearly used as an honorific title<sup>136</sup>. There is, however, a third and rather intriguing testimony. An inscription from Ombos (c. 135) stipulates that a stela has to be placed next to the statue of [---] οὐ πρώτου φίλου καὶ κτίστου τοῦ γυμνασίου (l. 9)<sup>137</sup>. Without a discussion of the exceptional form *prōtos* φίλος, Mooren lists the founder of

<sup>131</sup> *SB* III 6665 = *SEG* II 864 (*TM* 7263).

<sup>132</sup> His opinion is found in De Meulenaere (1966) 43 n. 2.

<sup>133</sup> Fraser (1972) II 186 n. 69 (see also II 184-185 n. 66). Cf. Mooren (1977) 178 n. 4.

<sup>134</sup> *SB* V 8118 (where the provenance is erroneously given as Aswan) = *SEG* VIII 504 (*TM* 6299).

<sup>135</sup> For a discussion of the different views, see Mooren (1977) 178-179. The fact that there are no *gymnasiarchs* attested in the third century outside Alexandria and Naukratis — see Paganini (2012) 591-592 — probably excludes a date before 200.

<sup>136</sup> *I. Fay*. I 8 (*TM* 6630).

<sup>137</sup> *I. Varsovie* 42 = *IThSy* 189 = *I. Prose* 21 (*TM* 44156).

the local *gymnasion* under the holders of the honorific title τῶν πρώτων φίλων (Mooren [1975] 180 no. 0317 = 228 no. 00146). This differs from the interpretation of Wilcken, the first editor of the inscription, who states: “Πρῶτος φίλος darf nicht mit τῶν πρώτων φίλων auf eine Stufe gestellt werden, dieser Klassenbezeichnung, die erst im Anfang des II. Jahrh. eingeführt ist. Vielleicht weist der πρῶτος φίλος uns ins III. Jahrh. hinauf, wo es solche Klassenbezeichnungen für Beamtengruppen noch nicht gab, sondern nur Individualtitel für die Hofleute des Königs”<sup>138</sup>. Wilcken leaves the question open whether the anonymous founder of the Ombite *gymnasion* lived in the third or the second century. In my opinion, the exceptional form may reflect the actual wording on a third-century statue of the founder of the *gymnasion*<sup>139</sup>; in this early period the nominative form and the *genitivus partitivus* may have been concurrently used to designate members of the military class of “First Friends”<sup>140</sup>. A similar situation perhaps existed for another “real” court title: although in the third century σωματοφύλαξ apparently was the prevailing form<sup>141</sup>, the designation τῶν σωματοφυλάκων might also have been used, if the abbreviation τῶν σ<sup>υ</sup>φ on a Hadra vase (probably of 239) is correctly solved<sup>142</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

The hypothesis that Megamedes in the Alexandrian inscription bears an honorific title and that the honorific court titulature (or at least part of it)<sup>143</sup>)

<sup>138</sup> Wilcken (1913) 414. His conclusions are accepted by A. Łajtar, *I. Varsovie*, p. 119: “πρῶτος φίλος ne peut donc pas être ici un titre d’honneur (si c’était le cas, on aurait τῶν πρώτων φίλων) mais désigne bien l’appartenance réelle de l’homme au cercle des *hetairoi* du roi”.

<sup>139</sup> Since we are not dealing with a *gymnasiarch* — an office not attested in the *chora* in the third century (see n. 135) — but with the founder of the *gymnasion*, a date in the third century cannot be excluded. A. Łajtar, *I. Varsovie*, p. 119, accepts a date in the third century.

<sup>140</sup> Otherwise Kortenbeutel (1941) 100: “Die normale Titulatur ist der Zusatz τῶν φίλων und τῶν πρώτων φίλων zu dem Namen, der Nominativ bzw. der dem Namen angepaßte Kasus ist als ungenaue Bezeichnung anzusehen”.

<sup>141</sup> Mooren (1975) 75-77 nos. 034-036.

<sup>142</sup> Mooren (1975) 75 no. 033, and Mooren (1977) 44.

<sup>143</sup> A partial introduction of the system is assumed by Pfeiffer (2015) 13: “Möglicherweise ist das ein Hinweis darauf, dass zwar nicht die gesamte Hofrangtitulatur schon unter dem vierten Ptolemäer entwickelt wurde, aber zu seiner Zeit bereits Vorkehrungen getroffen wurden, wichtige Personen des Militärs und der Verwaltung mittels der Vergabe von Titeln an den Hof zu binden. Tatsächliche Nähe zum König musste dabei überhaupt nicht gegeben sein”.

was already created under Ptolemy IV is tenuous. First, my new *terminus ante quem* for the inscription — 210/9<sup>144</sup> — would force us to accept an improbable long time span between this presumed first attestation of an honorific title and the next instance, commonly dated to the years 197-194/3<sup>145</sup>. Second, the fact that Polykrates does not hold a honorific court title in his inscriptions from Cyprus constitutes in my view a strong argument against the existence of the honorific aulic titlature before 197: since at the latest in the 170s the *strategos* of the island — as the only Ptolemaic official — received the highest rank of συγγενής, there can be little doubt that the local governor was one of the first to become eligible for an honorific title once the system was created<sup>146</sup>. The absence of a court title for the *strategos-hipparch* of the Arsinoite nome in the first years of the second century is also a strong counter-argument. Finally, Megamedes' obscurity contrasts with the high position of the holders of the title τῶν πρώτων φίλων under Epiphanes, who belonged to the foremost Ptolemaic families.

In the case of Megamedes, τῶν πρώτων φίλων is in my opinion a “real” aulic title, used to designate an officer of the palace guard, whose task it was to actually protect the king<sup>147</sup>. That Megamedes was a member of the royal guard was already surmised by Fischer-Bovet, who points to the location of the inscription close to the royal palace in Alexandria, the emphasis on Megamedes' virtue and care for the royal house and the fact that members of the royal guard often formed the core of (temporary) military associations such as the *koinon* of our inscription<sup>148</sup>. The observation that the *prôtoi philoi* in later documents are often associated with the *machairophoroi* and *lonchophoroi* makes it probable that Megamedes was an officer of the royal infantry guard and not a cavalry officer. Fischer-Bovet suggests that the guard on foot was organised in several units headed by *chiliarchs*, with *somatophylakes* acting as supreme officers<sup>149</sup>. Since the *prôtoi philoi* are always mentioned before the *chiliarchs* and furthermore precede the *archisomatophylakes* in the inscription from Kition, they were probably the highest ranking officers.

<sup>144</sup> And maybe even before 217: see below p. 74-75.

<sup>145</sup> See the discussion below p. 77.

<sup>146</sup> On the important position of the governor of Cyprus within the court hierarchy, see Mooren (1977) 180-181.

<sup>147</sup> On the relationship between the group of *philoi* and military officers, see Strootman (2011) 85 n. 75; Strootman (2014) 120-121, 171-172.

<sup>148</sup> Fischer-Bovet (2015a) 9.

<sup>149</sup> Fischer-Bovet (2014) 149 fig. 4.12 and 150-152.

The number of persons in the ranks of the *prôtoi philoi*, the *archisomatophylakes* and the *somatophylakes* remains in the dark.

When Megamedes' statue was erected between 220 and 210/9, it is tempting to seek a connection between the military units in the inscription and those appearing in Polybius' account of the fourth Syrian War<sup>150</sup>. Not only the cavalry of the royal guard — commanded by Polykrates — but also the royal elite infantry (called τὸ βασιλικὸν ἄγημα<sup>151</sup>), about three thousand men strong and under the command of Eurylochos of Magnesia (Polyb. 5.65.2), fought on the battlefield at Raphia:

Ptolemy's two wings were formed as follows. Polycrates with his cavalry held the extreme left wing, and between him and the phalanx stood first the Cretans (next to the cavalry), then the royal guard (*agèma*), then the peltasts under Socrates, these latter being next those Libyans who were armed in the Macedonian manner. On the extreme right wing was Echecrates with his cavalry, and on his left stood Gauls and Thracians, and next them was Phoxidas with his Greek mercenaries in immediate contact with the Egyptian phalanx (Polyb. 5.82.3-6).

Whether the foot soldiers of the royal bodyguard belonged to the *agèma* is not sure, but not unlikely. Libyans and Thracians, furthermore, appear in both sources, and it is probable that the troops mobilized in Egypt itself comprised a number of "Persians"<sup>152</sup>. I am, however, inclined to date the inscription before 22 June 217, the date of the actual battle at Raphia. Polybius mentions that the training of the Ptolemaic army started in 219 in Alexandria<sup>153</sup>, while the Seleucid envoys were received in Memphis to avoid that they would eyewitness the army exercises<sup>154</sup>. The units which constituted the *koinon* of the inscription may have trained together in Alexandria — see Polyb. 5.65.3: συνεγύμναζον μὲν ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους Ἑλληνας — with Megamedes as their commanding officer or military trainer. This theory offers a plausible explanation for the use of συνστρατευομένων in the inscription

<sup>150</sup> A direct connection was rejected by Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 151, but see already Fischer-Bovet (2015a) 35 n. 68: "In my opinion, it remains possible that they fought together at Raphia but honored their commander later in his career, plausibly when he received his court title". Fr. Kayser, *Bull. épigr.* (2015), 637 (no. 729), also accepts that the *koinon* of the inscription designates "un rassemblement occasionnel de soldats qui ont pris part à une même campagne".

<sup>151</sup> On this elite group of infantry soldiers, see Fischer-Bovet (2014) 152-153.

<sup>152</sup> For the interpretation, see above p. 62.

<sup>153</sup> Polyb. 5.63.1-65.11. See Huß (1976) 45-47.

<sup>154</sup> Polyb. 5.63.7-10, 66.8-9.

instead of συνστρατευσαμένων, the form which one would expect if the inscription was set up after the end of the war<sup>155</sup>. The use of the present participle was already noticed by the editors of the inscription, but because they dated the inscription to the last years of Philopator's reign, they had to assume a connection with an ongoing campaign against Egyptian insurgents or to regard the soldiers as "simples camarades de casernement"<sup>156</sup>.

Mooren accepts that the origin of the honorific court titulature lies in the "real" court titles, used at the royal court in Alexandria in the third century<sup>157</sup>. On the basis of the inscription from Cyrene (above p. 69) and the titles τῶν ἐν τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι διαδόχων and τῶν περὶ αὐλὴν διαδόχων, which also show a connection with the palace guard, he arrived at following hypothesis: "On peut dès lors se demander si le titre honorifique τῶν διαδόχων ne trouve pas son origine dans une fonction, comme ceux de somatophylaque et d'archisomatophylaque, ou en d'autres mots, s'il n'existait pas à la cour ptolémaïque au troisième siècle des διάδοχοι à côté des somatophylaxes et des archisomatophylaxes"<sup>158</sup>. In my opinion, τῶν πρώτων φίλων may now be added to these three titles, as another real (military) court title, which came into existence in the third century, well before the emergence of the purely honorific court titulature. The title *prôtos philos* was no doubt created to make a distinction with a "simple" *philos*<sup>159</sup>, in the same way as *archisomatophylax* indicates a higher rank than *somatophylax*.

Do we have indications that the most important court title, συγγενής, also finds its origin in the third century<sup>160</sup>? In 1983 Abel formulated the hypothesis that the honorific title συγγενής already appears in Polybius' book XV, which describes the events that led to the downfall of the regent Agathokles in the year 203. In 15.30.5 the historian records that Agathokles παραλαβὼν τοὺς συγγενεῖς πάντας πλὴν Φίλωνος ἤκε

<sup>155</sup> For military associations honouring their officers at the end of a military campaigns, see Launey (1949-1950) 1005-1008.

<sup>156</sup> Abd El-Fattah e.a. (2014) 158.

<sup>157</sup> Mooren (1977) 40: "... il est indiscutable que la hiérarchie trouve ses racines dans la titulature du troisième siècle — à l'exception de συγγενής, qui n'existe pas en tant que titre en ce temps-là", see also 43-44. Cfr. Savalli-Lestrade (1998) 371, who believes that there existed in the third century "une hiérarchie de fait parmi les φίλοι, qui demandait à être organisée et formalisée, sous peine d'anarchie" (see also *ibid.*, 378).

<sup>158</sup> Mooren (1977) 29-30; see also 34-35.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Strootman (2014) 168.

<sup>160</sup> Against the view that the title goes back to the Egyptian pharaonic period, see Láda (2013); on the presumed Persian origin of the title, see Savalli-Lestrade (1998) 318-321.



πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα<sup>161</sup>. If Abel is correct in regarding τοὺς συγγενεῖς in this passage as a court title, it should probably rather be regarded as a 'real' court title than a honorific one, since it is used for persons who resided in Alexandria and clearly belonged to the immediate entourage of the regent. I do not believe, however, that we are really dealing with a title. Since Polybius in 15.30.7 narrates how Agathokles, after meeting with the king, seeks shelter in a room μετὰ δυεῖν ἢ τριῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ συγγενείας, it seems clear that both here and in 15.30.5 Agathokles' relatives are meant. Abel recognises the honorific title also in 15.33.7, describing the arrest of Agathokles and his next of kin: εἴτ' Ἀγαθόκλεια γυμνὴ σὺν ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις πάντες οἱ συγγενεῖς. This interpretation must also be rejected: as Mooren already remarked, there is no plausible explanation why the total honorary class of the συγγενεῖς would have been killed together with Agathokles and his family<sup>162</sup>. When we reject Abel's theory, we have at present no indications for the existence of the title συγγενής before the second century<sup>163</sup>.

The real court titles, which were created in the third century to denominate a number of high ranking officers of the royal (body)guard and other members of the royal entourage, continued to be used with their original meaning after the introduction of the honorific court hierarchy. This explains why the designation τῶν πρώτων φίλων still appears in several second and first-century testimonies regarding the royal guard. As well in the third as in the second and first centuries, the number of officers who held the real court title τῶν πρώτων φίλων was probably rather limited. The continued use of the real title did therefore not lead to a depreciation of the newly created honorific title, contrary to Mooren's theory that large groups of soldiers collectively received an honorific title.

The concurrent use of the original real court titles and the new honorific titles creates ambiguity, at least for the modern historian. In cases where besides the court title the holder's public office is mentioned, there can be little to no doubt that we are dealing with an honorific title. When an indication of the office is lacking, the situation is often less clear. That both ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ and τῶν πρώτων φίλων were initially used as

<sup>161</sup> Abel (1983) 279-280.

<sup>162</sup> See against Abel's theory already, Mooren (1985) 219 n. 1.

<sup>163</sup> See Mooren (1977) 17-19 n. 2, for some presumed attestations of συγγενής in the third century, and 21 and 180 n. 1 on the first testimonies for the title in the second century.

“real” titles could even shed some doubt on the commonly accepted date for the creation of the honorific titles. The earliest attestation for the honorific titulature is thought to be an inscription from Paphos, where Ptolemaios son of Polykrates appears as ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ; since neither Polykrates himself, who left the island in 197, nor Cleopatra I are mentioned, the text may be dated between 197 and 194/3<sup>164</sup>. Mooren recognizes that the text does not bring absolute proof for the existence of the honorific titulature, because ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ might be used as a real title; his decision to regard it as an honorific title is based on the inscription from Lapethos, which mentions Ptolemaios’ brother Polykrates with the title τῶν πρώτων φίλων (above p. 53 no. 1)<sup>165</sup>. However, if we accept that not only ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ but also τῶν πρώτων φίλων existed in the third century as a real court title, both Ptolemaios and Polykrates might actually have been officers of the royal (body)guard<sup>166</sup>. In the end, this would not drastically change the view that the honorific aulic titulature was created in the first decade of the second century. Recently published papyri indeed illustrate that honorific titles — related to non-military offices — already existed in 189: in a text which probably dates from 23 October of that year, a certain Protarchos holds the titles τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν<sup>167</sup>. In documents from the same archive — and therefore also belonging in the 180s — we encounter Drimylos, διάδοχος καὶ πρὸς τῷ παρασφραγισμῷ<sup>168</sup>, and Ptolemaios, τῶν φίλων, probably a strategos<sup>169</sup>.

Most scholars are now convinced that Polybius presents a subjective and exaggerated view of the purported decadence and political lethargy of Ptolemy IV and his courtiers<sup>170</sup>. It is, therefore, not excluded that the additional ‘real’ court title τῶν πρώτων φίλων was introduced during his reign, perhaps as part of a more general reorganisation of the army —

<sup>164</sup> Mitford (1961) 18 no. 46 = *SB* VIII 10112 = *SEG* XX 198 (*TM* 6132).

<sup>165</sup> Mooren (1977) 51 (see also 196, where he suggests that Polykrates may have had a military function).

<sup>166</sup> That they were honoured on Cyprus does not exclude their membership of the royal guard in Alexandria: see the inscription of Kallikles discussed above p. 63 with n. 94. Both the younger Polykrates and his brother Ptolemaios are honoured in the inscriptions for the same reasons as Megamedes: ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας (τῆς εἰς βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον (καὶ βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν)).

<sup>167</sup> *P. Tarich.* 1 l. 3. Cfr. 3 l. 1 and 7 ll. 7-8, where only τῶν φίλων appears.

<sup>168</sup> *P. Tarich.* 2 ll. 1-3 (after 25 September 189).

<sup>169</sup> *P. Tarich.* 13 ll. 1-2 (after 188/7).

<sup>170</sup> See most recently (with an overview of earlier literature), Fischer-Bovet (2015a) 211-213.

including the palace guard — on the eve of the fourth Syrian War<sup>171</sup>. However, the system of the purely honorific titles, awarded not only upon the immediate entourage of the king but extended to larger categories of officials, can in the present state of our knowledge not be attributed to the reign of Philopator. Mooren's theory that either Aristomenes or Polykrates created the new honorific court hierarchy while they were regent of Ptolemy V in the 190s in my opinion still remains valid<sup>172</sup>.

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<sup>171</sup> On this reform, of which the extent is somewhat unclear, see Fischer-Bovet & Clarysse (2012).

<sup>172</sup> Mooren (1977) 50-54.

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## THE INSTITUTIONAL MODELS FOR PTOLEMAIC ROYAL BANKS AND GRANARIES\*

*Abstract:* It has been suggested that Classical Greek public and private banks served as institutional models for Ptolemaic royal banks. This paper will propose that ancient Egyptian treasuries and granaries may also have served as models. Ptolemaic royal banks were a distributed network, like earlier Egyptian treasuries and granaries, and unlike most Greek public and private banks. Ptolemaic royal banks also employed a transfer accounting system similar to those used in Egyptian state and temple treasuries and granaries, some of which predate the Ptolemaic Period.

### INTRODUCTION

Ptolemy II established a system of royal banks in Egypt in the middle of his reign, around 265 BCE. These royal banks were partially branches of the royal treasury.<sup>1</sup> State taxes, monopoly revenues, priestly fees, sureties, penalties and other revenues were deposited into treasury accounts at royal banks, while expenditures for the military, cult, court and building projects, as well as the salaries of state employees, were paid out of them. In addition to their treasury functions, however, royal banks also accepted private accounts, deposits and withdrawals, made transfers from one account to another, and occasionally provided credit or loans.<sup>2</sup>

Royal banks almost exclusively produced documents in Greek.<sup>3</sup> They were located in the primary towns of each of the provinces in the Egyptian countryside, but they often had branch offices in other towns in the provinces, and they were further supplemented by tax collection offices (λογευτήρια) in some villages.<sup>4</sup> The royal banks thus constituted a distributed network, at least for state accounts, since state revenues paid into

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<sup>1</sup> Bogaert (1981) 95-99.

<sup>2</sup> Bogaert (1998-1999) 50-117.

<sup>3</sup> Vandorpe & Clarysse (2008) 153-168.

<sup>4</sup> Von Reden (2007) 253-256.

one bank were available for state expenditures from other banks.<sup>5</sup> It has often been claimed that the institutional models for these new Ptolemaic banks were at least in part the Classical Greek public and private banks. This article suggests that Ptolemaic royal banks were also modeled in part on ancient Egyptian treasuries and granaries.

#### THE CASE FOR GREEK MODELS

Greek papyrology first revealed the existence of Ptolemaic royal banks in the early 19th century, but early papyrologists assumed that they were not real banks, but only extensions of the royal treasury. After the publication of the *Papyrus Revenue Laws* in 1896, however, Ulrich Wilcken argued that they were real banks because they accepted private as well as treasury accounts.<sup>6</sup> Wilcken did not ask whether the Greeks introduced banking to Egypt, but rather which Greeks, and he concluded that Ptolemy I introduced the Ptolemaic system of royal banks along with the Ptolemaic tax system from Greek models, perhaps with the assistance of Demetrius of Phaleron from Athens.<sup>7</sup>

In the early 20th century, however, Friedrich Preisigke observed that the transfer accounting systems (*Giro- und Scheckwesen*) of Ptolemaic royal banks and Roman public banks in Egypt were similar to the transfer accounting systems of Ptolemaic royal granaries and Roman public granaries in Egypt. Preisigke wrote that he did not know whether these transfer accounting systems existed in Egypt before the Greek conquest, and that he assumed that there was an undeveloped transfer accounting system among the Greeks.<sup>8</sup> Preisigke thus left open the possibility that Egyptian as well as Greek institutions may have served as models for the Ptolemaic royal banks and granaries.

Subsequent scholars were therefore compelled to explicitly address whether the Ptolemaic royal banks were based on Greek models. Claire Préaux stated that banking was one institution that the Ptolemies undoubtedly imported from Greece, because it required the widespread use of money, which the Greeks introduced to Egypt.<sup>9</sup> Préaux also argued that

<sup>5</sup> Bogaert (1981) 95-99.

<sup>6</sup> Bogaert (1981) 86-87.

<sup>7</sup> Wilcken (1899) I 513, 569-570 and 634-635.

<sup>8</sup> Preisigke (1910) 3.

<sup>9</sup> Préaux (1958) 243-245.

Ptolemaic royal banks produced Greek documents that employed technical terminology with parallels in Classic Greek juridical texts from Athens, confirming the Greek and Athenian models for Ptolemaic royal banks.<sup>10</sup> Jean Bingen reiterated Wilcken and Préaux's conclusions.<sup>11</sup>

In the course of the 20th century, however, further discoveries and studies of non-Greek as well as Greek sources suggested that various banking operations developed in many places at many different times in the ancient world,<sup>12</sup> leading Raymond Bogaert to suggest a more nuanced proposal for the origins of Ptolemaic royal banks. He admitted that the Egyptians used imported Greek coins and produced local imitations of them as well as some coins with Egyptian iconography in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE before the arrival of the Ptolemies.<sup>13</sup> He also acknowledged that there was a long tradition in the ancient Near East for temples, palaces and individuals to accept money deposits and to make money loans at interest, particularly in Mesopotamia.<sup>14</sup> He argued, however, that the practice of institutions using money deposits to finance money loans, and paying interest on money deposits from the revenues generated by the money loans, developed at Greek public and private banks,<sup>15</sup> which the Ptolemaic royal banks adopted. Bogaert also redated the introduction of the royal banks in Egypt to the middle of the reign of Ptolemy II, rather than under Ptolemy I.<sup>16</sup> Katelijn Vandorpe and Willy Clarysse have supported Bogaert's conclusions.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE CASE FOR EGYPTIAN MODELS: DISTRIBUTED NETWORKS

Bogaert's proposal that some features and functions of Ptolemaic royal banks had uniquely Greek antecedents leaves open the possibility that other features and functions had Egyptian precursors. One such possibility is the distributed network model of Ptolemaic royal banks, which is poorly attested for Classical Greek banks,<sup>18</sup> but has antecedents in

<sup>10</sup> Préaux (1958) 246-255.

<sup>11</sup> Bingen (2007) 183-184.

<sup>12</sup> Bogaert (1966) 26-40.

<sup>13</sup> Bogaert (1980) 19-27; Bogaert (1983) 13-14.

<sup>14</sup> Bogaert (1966) 41-129.

<sup>15</sup> Bogaert (1966) 130-158; Cohen (1992) 114-115.

<sup>16</sup> Bogaert (1981) 89-91 and 99.

<sup>17</sup> Vandorpe & Clarysse (2008) 154.

<sup>18</sup> Bogaert (1968) 342-345; Cohen (1992) 16-18.

Egyptian treasuries predating the Ptolemaic Period. Another possibility is the transfer accounting system used by Ptolemaic royal banks.<sup>19</sup> The most common document type used, orders for payment, is also attested in Classical Greece,<sup>20</sup> but parallels can also be found in Egyptian temples and granaries, some of which predate the Ptolemaic Period.

The most important function of the Ptolemaic royal banks was to serve as branches of the royal treasury. There is increasing recognition that the ancient Egyptians had money before the adoption of Greek coinage, and that they had institutions to collect, safeguard and transfer money before the adoption of Greek coinage and Ptolemaic royal banks. Consequently these institutions could have served as models for the treasury functions of Ptolemaic royal banks.

Evidence for ancient Egyptian money before coinage can be found in hoards of silver bullion and fragments of silver or ‘hacksilber,’ which appear in Egypt in the late second and early first millennia BCE,<sup>21</sup> well before the first imported Greek coins in the sixth century BCE. Similar hoards appear at the same time in the Levant, and it has been suggested that silver was changing there from a commodity to a form of money, and that cloth bundles of silver occasionally found in the hoards, sometimes with clay sealings, could be precursors to the stamped or sealed metal coins that later appeared in the Aegean.<sup>22</sup> The same explanation could apply to Egypt, where it would be consistent with observations that silver bullion and ‘hacksilber’ continued to be used after imported Greek coins had become common in Egypt in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE,<sup>23</sup> that imported Greek coins in Egypt frequently appear in hoards together with silver bullion and ‘hacksilber’, and that the coins themselves were often cut to test for purity like ‘hacksilber’ until the late fourth century BCE.<sup>24</sup> It would thus not be surprising that Egypt did not bother to issue coins until the late fifth or early fourth century BCE,<sup>25</sup> because silver bullion and ‘hacksilber’ were already fulfilling most of the functions of coinage.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Geens (2008) 140.

<sup>20</sup> Bogaert (1968) 57-59, and 336-342.

<sup>21</sup> Kemp (1989) 244-246 (El-Till Hoard); Lilyquist (2012) 9-72 (Tell Basta Hoard); Noeske (1991) 342-351, with Noeske (1993) 204-205 (Elephantine Hoard).

<sup>22</sup> Thompson (2003) 67-107.

<sup>23</sup> Kroll (2001) 4; Van Alfen (2004/5) 14-30.

<sup>24</sup> Van Alfen (2004/5) 17-18.

<sup>25</sup> Van Alfen (2002) 32-51.

<sup>26</sup> Muhs (2016) 189-192, and 255.

There is also increasing evidence that institutions existed to safeguard and transfer money before the adoption of coinage and the introduction of Ptolemaic royal banks. Egyptian temples collected sales taxes and burial taxes in money already in the Saite Period (664-525 BCE),<sup>27</sup> and during the First Persian Period (525-404 BCE) the state collected customs duties in money as well as kind, paid to the local 'house of the king', which was probably part of a distributed network of state treasuries.<sup>28</sup> The Persians may also have paid their Aramaic-speaking mercenaries at Elephantine in money as well as in kind from the local 'house of the king', but the evidence is ambiguous.<sup>29</sup>

The early Ptolemies probably also maintained a distributed network of state treasuries run by Egyptian scribes to collect taxes in money prior to the introduction of royal banks in the middle of the reign of Ptolemy II. The early Ptolemies needed such a network to collect the annual money tax on adult males known as the yoke tax, which is attested from the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy II.<sup>30</sup> Demotic receipts for the yoke tax were signed by a relatively small and stable group of scribes, which was typical of state scribal offices.<sup>31</sup> After the introduction of royal banks and tax farming, however, the scribes who signed tax receipts changed along with the annual tax farming contracts.<sup>32</sup> This early Ptolemaic network of state treasuries may have been the successor to the local 'houses of the king' under the Persians, and the precursor to the tax collection offices (λογευτήρια) that served as local branches of royal banks for the collection of taxes.<sup>33</sup>

#### THE CASE FOR EGYPTIAN MODELS: TRANSFER ACCOUNTING SYSTEMS

If Ptolemaic royal banks were a purely Greek institution transplanted to Egypt, one might not expect to find similarities to traditional Egyptian institutions, such as state and temple treasuries and granaries. As has already been mentioned, Preisigke has shown that Ptolemaic royal banks

<sup>27</sup> Muhs (2016) 184-187.

<sup>28</sup> Porten & Yardeni (1993) 82-193 (text C3.7); Yardeni (1994) 67-78; Briant & Descat (1998) 59-104.

<sup>29</sup> Porten (1968) 72-73.

<sup>30</sup> Muhs (2005) 29-32.

<sup>31</sup> Muhs (2011) 213-214, and 237.

<sup>32</sup> Muhs (2011) 219-220, and 232-233.

<sup>33</sup> Muhs (2016) 234-236.

employed transfer accounting systems similar to those used by Ptolemaic royal granaries. The remainder of this article will further demonstrate that they were also similar to the transfer accounting systems of at least some Egyptian temple treasuries and granaries. Most of the examples from Egyptian temples date to the Ptolemaic Period, but at least one example from Ayn Manawir dates to the Persian Period. It is theoretically possible that the Ptolemies reformed the transfer accounting systems of all of these institutions, and that some institutions were adopting Greek models already in the Persian Period. It is also possible that these similarities are superficial and result from parallel but independent developments. But it seems more likely that the institutional models for these banks, treasuries and granaries were Egyptian as well as Greek.

Karolien Geens identified five common types of documents among Greek papyri from Ptolemaic banks, namely orders for outpayment, receipts for outpayment, *διαγραφαί* or orders to accept inpayment, administrative letters and orders, and internal documents such as lists, reports, accounts and diaries.<sup>34</sup> For accounting purposes, however, most administrative letters and orders are either forms of orders for payment or have no accounting function, and internal documents should be subdivided into running or daybook accounts or diaries, and balanced or summary accounts. Similar types of documents, with the exception of *διαγραφαί*, can also be found among Greek papyri from Ptolemaic royal granaries, and among Demotic administrative ostraca from some Egyptian temples and other institutions, suggesting that they shared a common accounting system.

This transfer accounting system probably appears already in the First Persian Period in over 460 Demotic ostraca from around the temple of Osiris-iouiy at Ayn Manawir in the Kharga Oasis, dated to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.<sup>35</sup> Receipts and orders for delivery represent 45% of the documents, which is typical of this accounting system, while lists and accounts represent another 6%.<sup>36</sup> The same system probably also appears in 28 Demotic ostraca from the temple of Amun of Hibis, also in the Kharga Oasis, dated by palaeography to the Persian and Ptolemaic Periods.<sup>37</sup> 14 ostraca or 50% of the documents are letter orders for payment

<sup>34</sup> Geens (2008) 138-147.

<sup>35</sup> Chauveau (1996) 32-47; Chauveau (2003) 38-40.

<sup>36</sup> Agut-Labordère (2014) 78.

<sup>37</sup> Kaplony-Heckel (2000a) 59-64.

or delivery of grain and wine,<sup>38</sup> while 11 ostraca or 39% are lists, accounts or daybook accounts.<sup>39</sup>

The accounting system certainly appears in over 180 Demotic ostraca from the temple of Mehyt at Nag' el-Mesheikh in the Nile valley, dated in the early Ptolemaic Period to the end of the 3rd century BCE.<sup>40</sup> 24 ostraca or 13% are orders or receipts for payment in money, while 50 ostraca or 28% are orders or receipts for payment in kind, mostly grain but also oil and wine. A large proportion of the remaining ostraca are lists, daybook accounts, or summary accounts. This system probably also appears in a similar group of Demotic ostraca from the temple of Osiris at Abydos, located across the Nile valley from Nag' el-Mesheikh, dated in the early or middle Ptolemaic Period to the third or second centuries BCE.<sup>41</sup>

In the late Ptolemaic Period, the accounting system probably also occurs in several hundred Demotic ostraca from the temple of Seth at Mut al-Kharab in the Dakhla Oasis, dating between 137/6-108/7 BCE.<sup>42</sup> A similar accounting system also occurs in 1800 Demotic ostraca from Oxyrhynchus, of which 1500 are now in Pisa and some 300 in Cologne, dating between 170-116 BCE. These ostraca appear to derive from the water-supply administration for donkey-caravans travelling between Oxyrhynchus and the Bahariya Oasis.<sup>43</sup>

The survival of most of these Demotic administrative records on ostraca rather than papyrus is probably due in part to the durability and availability of ostraca, particularly in the oases where papyrus did not grow and had to be imported. It is probably also due in part to the ephemeral value of many of the records, particularly the orders and receipts for payment, which could be discarded as soon as they were entered into daybook and summary accounts. In fact, some Demotic summary accounts have survived on papyrus, from the wine-magazine of the temple of Horus of Edfu in the Nile valley, dated to 132-131 BCE. Interestingly, these accounts do contain records of institutional temple loans.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Kaplony-Heckel (2000a) 67-68 (*O. Hibis* 4-5) and 71-76 (*O. Hibis* 16-27).

<sup>39</sup> Kaplony-Heckel (2000a) 68-71 (*O. Hibis* 6-15) and 76 (*O. Hibis* 28).

<sup>40</sup> Kaplony-Heckel (2000b) 268; Kaplony-Heckel (2000c) 99-109 and pl. XV; Muhs (2014) 155-164.

<sup>41</sup> Akeel (2009).

<sup>42</sup> Vittmann (2012) 19-31; Vittmann (2017) 363-378.

<sup>43</sup> Kaplony-Heckel (1994) 229-238; Thissen (2013) 391-397; Thissen (2014) 291-299.

<sup>44</sup> Schentuleit (2006).



## ORDERS FOR OUTPAYMENT

Orders for outpayment in money are the most common type of document found in Ptolemaic royal bankers' archives.<sup>45</sup> They begin like letters, in which the writer authorizes the addressee or banker to pay out a sum to a third party beneficiary. In theory, orders for payment addressed to banks could either be transfer orders, given to the banker authorizing him to make a payment to the beneficiary, or they could be checks, given to the beneficiary to present to the banker in return for payment. In practice, however, virtually all of the published orders for payment addressed to Ptolemaic royal banks are transfer orders like *P. Hamb.* II 173, while both transfer orders and checks are attested for private banks in Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>46</sup>

*P. Hamb.* II 173, Archive of Nikanor, royal banker at Oxyrhynchus, dated 9 Feb. 241 BCE:

‘Ammonios to Nikanor, greetings. **Pay** (διάγραψον) from my account to Apollonios the agent of Antiochos, for the price of two white calves, five hundred forty copper (drachmas). Greetings, Year 6, Khoiak 20. [2nd Hand] **Pay** (χρημάτισον) 540 copper (drachmas).’

Orders for outpayment or disbursement in grain also occur in granary archives, and also begin like letters addressed to a granary official. The writer orders the granary official to measure out a specified amount of grain to a third party. They conclude with the date, and with the countersignature of at least one other scribe. Payments could be made directly to recipients or through intermediaries for transport and delivery. Orders for direct payment of grain, like *P. Fay.* 18a, are relatively rare, however. They were restricted to disbursements of grain for local use, as loans of seed to cultivators, or as salaries for officials and police.

*P. Fay.* 18a, Archive of Akousilaos, granary official at Bakchias, dated 94 or 61 BCE:

‘Straton, scribe of the cultivators, to Akousilaos, granary official (σιτολόγος), greetings. **Measure out** (μέτρησον) to Petesouchos, son of Paesis, for ... royal land, two (artabas) of wheat, makes wheat 2 (artabas). Year 21, Thoth 15.

[2nd hand] Petalos, **measure** (μέτρησον) the preceding, two (artabas) of wheat, makes wheat 2 (artabas). Year 21, Thoth 15.

<sup>45</sup> Geens (2008) 140-142.

<sup>46</sup> Bagnall & Bogaert (1975) 102-108; Geens (2008) 142-144.

[3rd hand] Marres, village scribe, **measure** (μέτρησον) the preceding, two (artabas) of wheat, makes wheat 2 (artabas). Year 21, Thoth 16.’

Payments of grain through intermediaries are more common, and usually employ a special type of order for outpayment or disbursement of grain, known as a loading order, which authorized granary officials to load a specified amount of grain onto a specified ship for long distance transport by water. State officials frequently issued loading orders like *P. Erasmiana* II 25 to transfer surplus grain after the harvest from granaries in the countryside to Alexandria.<sup>47</sup>

*P. Erasmiana* II 25, Archive of the granary officials at Oxyrhyncha, Kaine, dated 13 Aug. 152 BCE:

‘Theodoros to Dionysios, greetings. **Load** (ἐμβολοῦ), in cooperation with the supervisor, in the harbour at Kaine, from the harvest of the 29th year, in accordance with the letter from Asklepios, the official for grain affairs (προς τῇ σιτηραί), from the granary (ἐργαστήριον) at Oxyrhyncha, in the salt water κέρκουρος-ship of Ptolemaios, Nearchos and Menostratos, with a capacity of 700 (artabas), on which Theon <is shipping agent (ναύκληρος)>: seven hundred artabas of wheat, total 700 (artabas) of wheat and do not execute the loading before the leader of the guards has gone on board. Farewell. Year 29, Epeiph 18.’

[2nd hand] ‘Theodoros: **load** (ἐμβολοῦ) as is written above: seven hundred artabas of wheat, total 700 (artabas). Year 29, Epeiph 18.’

Verso [3rd hand] ‘To Dionysios’.

Orders for outpayment also occur among Demotic administrative ostraca associated with temples. There are more than thirty orders for outpayment in kind among the Nag’ el-Mesheikh ostraca, where they constitute the single largest category of texts.<sup>48</sup> They begin like letters, and about two-thirds of the orders for payment in kind are addressed to either *P3-šr-mhyt* or Horos, both identified by the title ‘the baker’ (*p3 šn*). After the address, they regularly use the passive imperative ‘Cause that they give ...’ (*my tw=w* ...). This is in turn followed by the specification of the type and quantity of material to be given and the individual to whom they are to be given. The orders then conclude with the date and the signatures of one or more scribes. The material given is most often wheat, usually 2 or 4 unspecified units as in *O. Cambridge* UL 187. Very occasionally another type of commodity is given, such as oil or wine. Sometimes the

<sup>47</sup> Verdult (1991) 8-13, and 86-120.

<sup>48</sup> Muhs (2014) 159-160.

purpose of the payment is specified, presumably so that the appropriate account can be debited.

*O. Cambridge UL 187* (unpublished), Nag' el-Mesheikh, dated 23 June 213 BCE:

- 1) To *P3-šr-mhyt* the baker,
- 2) **cause that they give** (*my tw=w*) 2 of wheat to *Mhyt-t3y=f-nht* the pastophoros
- 3) who has gone to Thinis with the garlands (*n3 'nh.w*)
- 4) on Year 9, Pachons 12, has written Horos son of *P3-hl-mhyt*.

Orders for outpayment in money also occasionally occur among Demotic administrative ostraca associated with temples, and closely resemble orders for payment in kind. A rare variant is the offer for payment in money, only known from twenty examples among the Nag' el-Mesheikh ostraca.<sup>49</sup> They begin like letters, and the addressees almost always bear Greek names, such as Philon, Ptolemaios, or most commonly, Theodoros. The scribes who sign the offers, however, have Egyptian names, which is not surprising since the offers are primarily written in Demotic. The texts state that the addressee will receive a payment, literally “there will be received for you” (*iw=w šp n=k*), and that the payment is for the transport of one or more people, who are usually named. Occasionally the destination and purpose of the journey are also indicated as in *O. Prague Náprstek P. 2033*. The payments vary in size according to the number of people, but are usually ½ obol per person transported. Many offers for payment in money bear a subscription or superscription in Greek indicating the amount to be paid. Presumably this was for the benefit of the addressees with Greek names, such as Theodoros. The Demotic text was thus probably intended for the Egyptian scribes and accountants to whom Theodoros and his colleagues would present the text for reimbursement. The text was thus in effect a check, a written substitute for cash payment that could be redeemed for cash by the recipient.

Demotic *O. Prague Náprstek P 2033* (unpublished), Nag' el-Mesheikh, dated 3 April 211 BCE:

- 1) To Theodoros, **there will be received for you** (*iw=w šp n=k*)
- 2) ½ obols for the transport of *Mhy.t-t3y=f-nht* the pastophoros
- 3) who went to Thinis with the garlands (*n3 'nh.w*) of
- 4) Harpaesis [the prophet] of Thoth (on) Year 11, Mekheir 21,
- 5) has written [Esminis] son of Esminis
- 6) (Greek) ½ obol.

<sup>49</sup> Muhs (2014) 161-162.

## RECEIPTS FOR OUTPAYMENT

Receipts for outpayment in money are also common in royal bankers' archives.<sup>50</sup> They should be distinguished from bank receipts for inpayment, which are even more common, but which ended up in the payers' rather than the bankers' archives. Receipts for outpayment do not begin like letters, in contrast to orders for outpayment. The writer simply acknowledges that he has received a specified payment from the banker. *P. Hamb.* II 171 is written in double document format, meaning that the text was written twice on the same papyrus, and then one text was rolled up and sealed, to be exposed only if the other text was suspected of having been tampered with. Orders for payment and receipts for payment both may occur in either single document or double document format.

*P. Hamb.* II 171, Archive of Nikanor, royal banker at Oxyrhynchus, dated 1 May 246 BCE:

Interior Text: 'Under King Ptolemaios (son) of Ptolemaios and Arsinoe, the sibling gods, Year 1 which is Financial Year 2, month Phamenoth 10. Demetrios the physician **has received** (ἔχει) from Nikanor the banker from the bank in Oxyrhynchus from the account of the physician-tax for the still-owing yearly wage for Year 39, which I receive from the bank, the physician-tax of Khoiakhs for Year 39, 80 drachmas.'

Exterior Text: Identical.

A special type of receipt for outpayment or disbursement of grain occurs in granary archives, known as a loading receipt or a ναύκληρος-receipt. When granary officials executed a loading order to transport grain by ship, they required the shipping agent (ναύκληρος) to issue a receipt for the loaded grain.<sup>51</sup>

*P. Erasmianae* II 38, Archive of the granary officials at Oxyrhyncha, Kaine, dated 1 Sept. 152 BCE:

'Year 29, Mesore 7, 550 (artabas) of wheat, 128 ½ (artabas) of beans.'

'Year 29, Mesore 7, Melesandros, shipping agent (ναύκληρος) of the προσαγωγίς-ship of Demeas, with a capacity of 2900 (artabas), **declares that he has loaded** (ὁμολογεῖ ἐμβεβλήσθαι), in the harbour at Kaine, with a destination the royal granary (βασιλικόν) at Alexandria, from the harvest of the same year, from Dionysios, the granary official (σιτολόγος) of the granary (ἐργαστήριον) at Oxyrhyncha: five hundred and fifty artabas of wheat, total 550 (artabas) (and) one

<sup>50</sup> Geens (2008) 144.

<sup>51</sup> Verdult (1991) 8-13, and 121-153.

hundred and twenty eight and a half (artabas) of beans, total 128 ½ (artabas) of beans, (measured out) with the δοχικόν-measure which has been calibrated on the basis of the bronze standard, and (leveled off) with the straight strickle, and I have no further claims.'

'Philippos has written, asked to do so because he does not know letters.'

Receipts for outpayment or disbursement in kind also occur among Demotic administrative ostraca associated with temples, with more than a dozen receipts for payment in kind among the Nag' el-Mesheikh ostraca.<sup>52</sup> Nine begin with the phrase 'the rations which Horos the baker gave' (*p3 'k r.ti Hr p3 šn*). Three begin like letters addressed to Horos the baker, followed by the phrase 'the rations which you gave' (*p3 'k r.ti=k*), like *O. Cambridge* UL 46. One simply begins with 'the rations which you gave' (*p3 'k r.ti=k*), without any indication of who is being addressed. In a few cases the recipient was named, but more often they were not, perhaps because the recipients were the same scribes who wrote the receipts. The date follows, and the specification of the type and quantity of material given. They conclude with the signatures of one or more scribes.

*O. Cambridge* UL 46 (unpublished), Nag' el-Mesheikh, dated 23 September 209 BCE:

- 1) **The rations which** Horos the baker **gave** (*p3 'k r.ti*) on Year 13
- 2) Mesore 15, 8 ½ of wheat makes 4 ¼ makes 8 ½ again,
- 3) has written Esamounis son of {son of} *P3-ḥl-mḥyt*

#### ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΑΙ OR ORDERS TO ACCEPT INPAYMENT

Ptolemaic state officials sometimes issued διαγραφαί or orders to Ptolemaic royal banks to accept inpayment of fines or fees from the public auction of properties, priestly offices and tax-farming contracts.<sup>53</sup> Upon receipt of the fines or fees, the banks issued a receipt quoting the διαγραφή, which could serve as title for any properties purchased. This receipt was sometimes also called a διαγραφή.<sup>54</sup> The term διαγραφή is known from Classical Greece, where it designated a written order for payment or transfer of funds,<sup>55</sup> but its use in Ptolemaic Egypt appears to

<sup>52</sup> Muhs (2014) 161.

<sup>53</sup> Geens (2008) 145.

<sup>54</sup> Vandorpe (2015) 108-110.

<sup>55</sup> Bogaert (1968) 50-54, and 337-345; Cohen (1992) 16-18.

have been bound to the use of the public auction, which was introduced by 223 BCE.<sup>56</sup> It is not surprising, then, that the διαγραφαί or order to accept inpayment is one document type used by Ptolemaic royal banks that has no parallel among documents used by Ptolemaic royal granaries or Egyptian temples.

#### RUNNING OR DAYBOOK ACCOUNTS

Daybook accounts or diaries are an important part of the archives of royal bankers.<sup>57</sup> *P. Petrie* III 64d verso preserves fragments of a daybook account of Python, the royal banker at Krokodilopolis, recording orders for payment and receipts for payment over two days. Lines 1-3 are dated to Mecheir 15, and record one order for payment sent by Asklepiades to the banker Akeson, a subordinate of Python described as ‘the one with us’. Lines 4 through 20 are dated to Mekheir 16, and record six receipts for payment, two of which on lines 4-8 are shown here, and one order for payment. The explicit references to orders and receipts for payment in this daybook make it probable that the daybook was compiled from such orders and receipts.

*P. Petrie* III 64 d verso, Archive of Python, royal banker at Krokodilopolis, dated 4-5 April 237 BCE, lines 1-8:

- 1) **Pay** (χρημάτισον)
- 2) Year 11 Mekheir 15, Asklepiades (to)
- 3) Akeson, the one with us [...]
- 4) Year 11, Mekheir 16, Dorion the shipping agent (ναύκληρος) **has received** (ἔχει) [...]
- 5) of the load in which he brings
- 6) wood [...]
- 7) the appropriate ship which [...]
- 8) **He agrees** that Dorion the shipping agent (ναύκληρος) **has received** (ὁμολογεῖ ἔχειν) [...]

Daybook accounts also occur among the Demotic administrative ostraca associated with temples.<sup>58</sup> *O. Michaelides* 228 is a daybook account for outpayments from the account of Psentotoes son of Poeris for one month, which is the usual period for daybook accounts. Daybook accounts with

<sup>56</sup> Manning (1999) 277-284; Manning (2003) 83-85, and 160-161; Vantorpe (2000) 195; Monson (2012) 117-119.

<sup>57</sup> Geens (2008) 145-146.

<sup>58</sup> Muhs (2014) 162-163.

outpayments greatly outnumber daybook accounts with inpayments in the Nag' el-Mesheikh ostraca, perhaps because many accounts associated with the temple received inpayments from fixed stipends.

*O. Michaelides* 228 (unpublished), Nag' el-Mesheikh, late 3rd century BCE:

- 1) The account (*p3 ip*) of Psentotoes son of Poeris,
- 2) Pachons day 1 to day 30: day 4, 1/6; day 5, 1/6; day 6, 1/6; day 7, 1/6;
- 3) day 8, 1/6; day 9, 1/12; day 11, 1/6; day 13, 1/6;
- 4) day 16, 1/6.

#### SUMMARY AND BALANCED ACCOUNTS

Summary and balanced accounts are also an important part of the archives of royal bankers. At first glance *P. Sorb.* inv. 371 looks like a running or daybook account for the royal bank of the Arsinoite nome. It records inpayments of taxes from local branches of the royal bank during one month of Year 12 of Ptolemy III.<sup>59</sup> The inpayments are not organized strictly according to day of receipt, however. They are organized by tax type, and within each tax type by the contributing local branch. Only under the local branch is the day of receipt sometimes recorded. This was therefore a summary account, because each tax type represented a different account at the royal bank. It was not a balanced account, because only inpayments are recorded.

*P. Sorb.* inv. 371 (*AfP* 57, p. 33-54), royal bank at Krokodilopolis, dated 235-234 BCE, column i, lines 1-6:

- 1) [for the salt tax] for the city 90 dr.
- 2) [for the meris of Pole]mon at Mouchis 326 dr.
- 3) [for the meris of Them]istos at Arsinoe 184 dr. 3 ob.
- 4) for the meris of Herakleides, day 20: 5 dr. 3 ob., day 30: 42 dr. 5 ob., 7 dr. 2 ob., total 55 dr. 4 ob.
- 5) total 55 dr. 4 ob. at Philad(elpheia) 90 dr. 3 ob. at Kerke(soucha) 80 dr., total 226 dr. 1 ob.
- 6) total for salt tax 826 dr. 4 ob.

Summary accounts also occur among Demotic administrative ostraca associated with temples.<sup>60</sup> *O. Michaelides* 127 is either a receipt for

<sup>59</sup> Clarysse & Thompson (2009) 230-260; Clarysse & Thompson (2011) 33-54.

<sup>60</sup> Muhs (2014) 163-164.



multiple payments, or more likely a summary account. It records inpayments to the account of Harmais son of *Htp=w* over three months of a Year 6, but it does not give the dates on which the inpayments occurred, only the accounts from which the inpayments came, and their amounts. The simple year date at the top of the ostracon may have been for indexing purposes.

*O. Michaelides* 127 (unpublished), Nag' el-Mesheikh, dated 14 April – 12 July 216 BCE:

- 1) Year 6
- 2) What they have accounted (*r.ip=w*) to Harmais son of *Htp=w*
- 3) for Year 6 Phamenoth, Pharmouthi, Pachons (makes) 3 months
- 4) which makes transport with him, 220 of wheat, makes its receipt:
- 5) the offering of Pachons 9, 35 of wheat; Harchebis? son of Esminis?, 17 ½? (of wheat);
- 6) Esminis son of *P3-šr-mhyt*, 10 of wheat makes 62 ½ of wheat;
- 7) the scribe of the boat, 157 ½ of wheat, total.

The first part of *P. Carlsberg* 409, published by Maren Schentuleit, contains similar but more extensive summary accounts of the wine-magazine of the temple of Edfu, from 132-131 BCE. For each month, and for each type of wine, inpayments are listed, and then outpayments, without indication of the day.<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, the monthly summary accounts include loans of wine among the outpayments, and repayments of wine with interest among the inpayments.

## CONCLUSIONS

Some of the operations of Ptolemaic royal banks may have been patterned after Greek models, but other features may have been modeled on Egyptian institutions that the Ptolemies found in Egypt, such as state and temple treasuries and granaries. Ptolemaic royal banks formed a distributed network, as did earlier state treasuries and granaries. Furthermore, Ptolemaic royal banks used a transfer accounting system similar to those used by Ptolemaic royal granaries, and temple treasuries and granaries. The basic document types are the same, namely orders for payment, receipts for payment, running or daybook accounts, and summary or balanced accounts, although the formulae are not direct translations of each

<sup>61</sup> Schentuleit (2006).

other. Nonetheless, orders for payment are consistently framed as letters, while most receipts for payment are not, for example. These similarities point to a common inspiration for all of these institutions, rather than parallel but independent developments. One could perhaps argue that the Ptolemies profoundly reformed all of these institutions after Greek models. At least some of the document types and accounting systems described here are known from Egypt already in the Persian Period, however, such as orders for payment among the ostraca from Ayn Manawir in the Kharga Oasis. Consequently, it seems more likely that the Ptolemies adopted and adapted some existing Egyptian administrative institutions, as well as introducing new operations based on Greek models.

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## A PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY: ORTHAGOREIA IN THRACE RECONSIDERED\*

*Abstract:* This paper reviews recent arguments that support a new location (or relocation) of a few communities that ancient sources assign to the coast of Thrace. In particular, this paper considers the community of Orthagoreia known through the testimonies of Strabo and Pliny, which contradict each other, and from numismatic evidence. The author argues in favor of the traditional view that Orthagoreia is located 'east' of Maroneia and presents an assessment of current knowledge on the subject.

The topography of the Thracian coast between the rivers Nestos and Hebros is notoriously problematic and several generations of scholars have discussed it without reaching conclusive results.<sup>1</sup> While there has been substantial progress in the collection and publication of material from this area, the location of several cities that must belong to the Thracian coast remains uncertain because the evidence is either insufficient or contradictory. In 2008, S. Psoma, Ch. Karadima, and D. Terzopoulou revisited, among other themes, the chronology of Maroneia's coinage and proposed new locations for the cities of Maroneia (both the Archaic and Classical city), Stryme, and Orthagoreia. These proposals, however, deserve further scrutiny. Here I present and discuss a few details that, in my view, should discourage us from accepting the locations these scholars propose for Archaic and Classical Maroneia and Orthagoreia. Their suggestion that Orthagoreia is located by Mt. Ismaros, that is, at Hellenistic Maroneia, is contingent upon accepting Pliny's testimony, which suggests that Maroneia at some point absorbed the city of Orthagoreia.<sup>2</sup> However, this suggestion rejects a passage in Strabo that places Orthagoreia east of Maroneia, an assignment that, thus far, has been deemed accurate, and it relies solely on numismatic evidence to reconstruct a complex historical process that is only broadly sketched and is problematic in many ways. I will argue instead that Strabo's testimony is more

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<sup>1</sup> The present article starts from the new locations of some sites proposed in Psoma e.a. (2008). Other important contributions are: Gaebler (1924) esp. 212-216; Robert (1940) 81-94; Chrysanthaki-Nagle (2004) 49-62; Zahrnt (2008) 87-120; Loukopoulou & Psoma (2008) 55-86.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. *NH* IV 42-43; Psoma e.a. (2008) 193-204.

accurate than Pliny's, that Maroneia and Orthagoreia never merged, and that, for the time being, it is better to retain the interpretation of the historical geography of the Thracian coast that places Maroneia (Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic) by Mt. Ismaros and Orthagoreia east of it.

Maroneia is one of the cities that we can place confidently by Mt. Ismaros along the Thracian coast, where S. Reinach identified its remains in 1880. According to Psoma, however, while the site by Mt. Ismaros can be securely identified with Hellenistic Maroneia, the location of the Archaic and Classical urban center of Maroneia must be sought on Cape Molyvoti, a site identified with a different town, namely Stryme.<sup>3</sup> Psoma argues that at some point in the fourth century BC the city on the Molyvoti peninsula, i.e. the Archaic and Classical Maroneia founded by Chians, moved a good 20 km east of its original location to a new one by Mt. Ismaros.<sup>4</sup> This theory

<sup>3</sup> Bakalakis's monograph on the excavations he conducted in this area appeared in 1967 and suggests that we locate Stryme on the Molyvoti peninsula. Among other scholars, also Isaac (1986) esp. 70-71 has rejected this proposal. Psoma e.a. (2008) lvii-lxxii do not accept Bakalakis's thesis, suggesting instead that Stryme was located on the hilly side of Hagios Georgios by Hellenistic-Roman Maroneia with which, they say, it merged. They argue also that we should seek Archaic and Classical Maroneia on Cape Molyvoti. See Loukopoulou & Psoma (2008) 55-80 and Psoma e.a. (2008) lxxii with map and 243-254. The reception of Psoma e.a. has varied. On the one hand, some, such as Van Steen, have stated that Psoma e.a. have solved various topographical issues for good (*BMCR* review of Psoma e.a. (2008), <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2010/2010-03-32.html>); I find this view overly optimistic. On the other hand see, for example, Thonemann's brief comment (n. 6 below) on Bakalakis's identification of Stryme with the Molyvoti site in *CR* (2006) 458-459 reviewing Loukopoulou e.a. *I. Thr. Aeg.*, Athens 2005. In 2013 a new project started in the area, namely the Molyvoti, Thrace Archaeological Project (MTAP). Its preliminary report, Arrington e.a. (2016) 1-64, refrains from identifying the site on the peninsula with any city in particular, as there is no conclusive epigraphical evidence to do so. Still the authors of the report note on p. 54 that: "The predominance of Classical Maronian coins further supports the view that trade was mostly regional in nature. Rather than indicating that the site was Archaic-Classical Maroneia, they may instead show the extent to which the city was in Maroneia's sphere of influence in the 4th century B.C." Also, the opening note of the section devoted to coinage, 44-53, stresses that the overwhelming majority of the coins from Maroneia are stray finds.

<sup>4</sup> Cases of cities that moved from an original location to a new one are known in antiquity, as for example Smyrna or Ephesos. But the alleged move of Maroneia would be peculiar: first, the distance between the old and the new location is unusually great, since cities tended to move to nearby areas, and second, what is known of the history of Maroneia does not seem to indicate a possible cause for such a move. Loukopoulou & Psoma (2008) esp. 73-74 acknowledged that the distance between the old and new locations, according to their reconstruction, is unusually large and inexplicable, and have attributed the presumed abandonment of the original site either to a physical disaster or to a presumed attack by Philip. Arrington e.a. (2016) esp. 53-56 also questions this proposal. On the topic of cities' relocation, in general, see Demand (1990). On Maroneia's foundation, see Möller (1996) 315-324.



uses the negative evidence that the excavations south of Mt. Ismaros (i.e. Hellenistic and Roman Maroneia) have not (yet) yielded any significant material dating earlier than the fourth century BC.<sup>5</sup> To this lack of archaeological evidence, Psoma adds the results of (mainly) her own new study of the numismatic evidence from Cape Molyvoti that reveals the presence of numerous bronze coins from Maroneia.<sup>6</sup> Their conclusions, however, are problematic also because no written sources identify the site at Cape Molyvoti as Maroneia or mention movement of an early Maroneia.<sup>7</sup> In addition, a relocation of this city during the fourth century BC is difficult to envision historically since Maroneia seems to have been a flourishing *emporion*, profiting from Abdera's setback in the 370s when the *Triballoi* attacked.<sup>8</sup> In brief, we lack motive or general historical circumstances that may have caused Maroneia to relocate.

<sup>5</sup> Demand (1986) 35-44 suggests that the lack of early material does not preclude the continued existence of a city at the same location.

<sup>6</sup> The arguments in support of this theory are listed in Loukopoulou & Psoma (2008) 71-72. These scholars mention the existence of abundant epigraphic finds on Cape Malyvoti, but see Thonemann (2006) 458-459 reviewing *I. Thr. Aeg.*: "The Editors (of *I. Thr. Aeg.*) are cautious about the traditional identification of this last site (i.e., Molyvoti) as the Thasian *emporion* of Stryme. However, the newly assembled inscriptions from the site at Cape Molyvoti furnish powerful new arguments in favour of the identification: as pointed out by Terzopoulou, *AD* 55/1 (2000), 143-82, the onomastics of the site recall those of Thasos, rather than its mainland neighbours." Psoma e.a. (2008) mention also that they have definitive proof for the identification of Malyvoti as Maroneia, namely the presence of weights marked with the letters ΜΑΙΡΙΩ. These are still unpublished, but Psoma & Loukopoulou (2008) illustrate them at 86.

<sup>7</sup> That literary sources seem entirely unaware of this alleged event is no proof that it did not happen, see, for example, Strab. 8.44 = Baladié 7.51 = Radt 7.18.13. Loukopoulou & Psoma (2008) 76-78 discuss the literary evidence and attribute Strabo's ignorance of the alleged move to the confusion that derives from his conflation of different sources from different time periods. Strabo's Book VII is fragmentary and in fr. 44a he seems to describe the area immediately adjacent to Maroneia, which he locates by Mt. Ismaros. Loukopoulou and Psoma assert that Strabo consulted Herodotus and later sources. Herodotus's section on this area, 7.108-109, is famously difficult, but, still, there is no reason to believe that Herodotus's Maroneia was anywhere other than by Mt. Ismaros. Also, we do not know for certain that Strabo was using Herodotus in fr. 44. As proof that he was, Loukopoulou and Psoma mention his reference to the fifth-century historian in fr. 52a = Baladié 7.52 = Radt 7.21.50f, where Strabo mentions briefly Xerxes's march through the area, for which the logical source would have been Herodotus. But whether this means that he used Herodotus for fr. 44 I am not entirely sure. On the less than enthusiastic opinion that Strabo had of Herodotus, see Engels (1999) 121-126.

<sup>8</sup> On Maroneia as a successful *emporion*, see *I. Thr. Aeg.* 2005, esp. 324 and also the inscription from Vetren, on which see Demetriou (2010) 77-93. For the fifth century, see Isaac (1986) 116-122; idem on Abdera, 73-111.



That said, Orthagoreia, not Maroneia, is the focus of this essay.<sup>9</sup> Very little is known about this town: its name appears only twice in the ancient sources, in Strabo and Pliny, who provide contrasting evidence on its status and practically none on its history. The first instance appears in Strabo's *Geographika*:

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μαρώνειαν Ὀρθαγορία πόλις καὶ τὰ περὶ Σέρριον, παράπλους τραχύς, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαμοθράκων πολίχνιον Τέμπυρα καὶ Καράκωμα οὗ πρόκειται ἡ Σαμοθράκη νήσος καὶ Ἴμβρος οὐ πολὺ ἄποθεν ταύτης· πλέον δ' ἢ διπλάσιον ἡ Θάσος. ἀπὸ δὲ Καρακώματος Δορίσκος, ὅπου ἐμέτρησε Ξέρξης τῆς στρατίας τὸ πλῆθος. Εἴθ' Ἔβρος, ἀνάπλουν ἔχων εἰς Κύψελα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι· τῆς Μακεδονίας φησὶ τοῦτο ὄριον . . .<sup>10</sup>

Strabo's book concerned with this area is fragmentary, unfortunately. Nevertheless, his interest lies clearly in describing the geography of the North Aegean coast and the status of the cities located along it. Strabo says that to the east of Maroneia was located the city of Orthagoreia, thereby suggesting that this was a separate, autonomous community.<sup>11</sup>

Pliny's account instead suggests that Orthagoreia no longer existed when he wrote, only slightly later than Strabo.<sup>12</sup>

Intus Philippi colonia absunt ab Dyrrachio CCCXXV, Scotusa, Topiros civitas; Mesti amnis ostium, mons Pangaeus, Heraclea, Olynthos, Abdera libera civitas, stagnum Bistonum et gens; oppidum fuit Tirida, Diomedis equorum stabulis dirum; nunc sunt Dicaea, Ismaron, locus Parthenion, Phalesina, Maronea, prius Orthagorea dicta.

In this description of the area Pliny proceeds eastward, as Strabo does, and says that Orthagoreia was the older name for the community of Maroneia. This piece of information is generally not accepted.<sup>13</sup> Psoma, however, accepts it and sees Pliny as a reliable source while Strabo's evidence is rejected.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For older hypotheses on the location of this town, see Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2004) esp. 57-59.

<sup>10</sup> Strab. 7, fr. 47 = Baladié 7.50 = Radt 7, (fr) 201.

<sup>11</sup> On the terminology that Strabo uses to describe different types of communities, see Engels (1998) esp. 90-93.

<sup>12</sup> Pl. *NH* 4.42-43.

<sup>13</sup> In these lines there is also a small mistake since Pliny lists the long-destroyed city of Olynthos. On the unreliability of Pliny, see Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2004) 57.

<sup>14</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) 193-204.

Orthagoreia is not attested epigraphically, but numismatic evidence exists for chronologically limited issues.<sup>15</sup> Abundant numismatic material for Orthagoreia comes from Abdera and Maroneia, along with sparse finds from the coast, which all seem to date to the second half of the fourth century BC.<sup>16</sup> Scholars agree that the iconography of Orthagoreia's coins is strongly related to Macedonia, which links the two and, therefore, possibly connects Orthagoreia to Philip II.<sup>17</sup> Psoma studied anew the numismatic evidence for Orthagoreia found at Maroneia by Mt. Ismaros, and, after a quantitative analysis observed that "fifty-six per cent (56%) of the excavation coins of this period (from the site of Hellenistic Maroneia) are bronzes of Orthagoreia (of the 4th century), which may be used as evidence in support of Pliny's assertion that *Orthagorea* was the ancient name of Maroneia. Bronze coins circulated locally and the large number of coins of the same mint excavated at a site provides definitive evidence for its identification."<sup>18</sup> In numbers this translates into 243 coins from Orthagoreia at Maroneia. Other communities are represented too, as for example, Abdera with 45 coins, and contemporary coins from Maroneia are attested (62) as well.<sup>19</sup> The sheer numbers seem to support Psoma's theory, but the opening archaeological section of the book paints

<sup>15</sup> See Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2004) 51-56; Karadima & Psoma (2007) 291-295; Psoma e.a. (2008) 194-198.

<sup>16</sup> Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2004) 51-56 suggests that these coins go at least into the early third century BC, while Psoma e.a. (2008) 196 argue that Orthagoreia did not strike coins after the fourth century BC. These scholars also note on p. 194 that 105 coins of Orthagoreia come from Abdera.

<sup>17</sup> Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2004) 51-56; Psoma e.a. (2008) 194-198.

<sup>18</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) 200. In this context, the authors cite the Roberts' rejection of Vavritsas's identification of a site east of Cape Serhion as Mesembria, on numismatic evidence. The Roberts proposed instead that the site was Zone (in n. 76 Psoma e.a. provide all relevant *BE* references). But the case of Mesembria-Zone cannot compare to Orthagoreia. For Mesembria-Zone, the Roberts stressed two important points: (1) Mesembria is only known through one literary attestation, Hdt 7.109 and (2) before Vavritsas's excavations only one coin from Zone was known, after the dig several appeared, but in relatively small numbers. The Roberts then only hypothesized that this was Zone and stressed that without epigraphic evidence this identification cannot be secure. In *BE* 1976, 464 they also commented on the numerous coins from Maroneia that had been found in Zone (?), asserting that this was to be expected given its proximity and importance. As far as Mesembria is concerned, in *Hellenica* I, p. 81-94 Robert voiced already his skepticism on coins that had been attributed to the Herodotean Mesembria and instead thought they belonged to the Pontic one. Considering the serious lack of evidence on this town, Zahrnt (2008) 87-120 could be right in thinking that this city actually did not exist, which would invalidate, if sound, Chryssanthaki-Nagle's 2004 hypothesis for which Mesembria had been renamed Orthagoreia.

<sup>19</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) lxxxii.

a less clear picture. This first section, by Ch. Karadima and D. Terzopoulou, traces the history of the excavations both on Cape Molyvoti and at Maroneia. These scholars offer a brief but very factual summary of the finds that they organize according to the excavated sections, thereby noting where the coins in question have been found. The bulk of the evidence for Orthagoreia — although no precise number is given — seems to come from the theatre,<sup>20</sup> which experienced many phases of destruction (including modern) that have disturbed the area. Most of the numismatic evidence for Maroneia instead comes from residential areas.<sup>21</sup>

Psoma combines the results of her own study of the coins with Pliny's testimony and the sum of these arguments should secure the identification of Orthagoreia as the "old" Maroneia, but the evidence can tell a different story. First and foremost, there is no reason to reject Strabo's account and privilege Pliny's. According to Strabo, Orthagoreia was an independent community located just to the east of Maroneia. The proximity of the two cities can explain the significant presence of Orthagoreia's coinage at Maroneia. As the bigger and stronger partner, Maroneia attracted foreign and local coins. In addition, many such coins minted by Orthagoreia have been found in other neighboring cities, such as Abdera and Zone.<sup>22</sup>

One more point that needs to be addressed is the historical and institutional context of the events since it does not appear to warrant Maroneia's relocation or Orthagoreia's merging with Maroneia. Indeed, while Psoma argues with numbers and percentages on numismatic evidence, the institutional and socio-political framework for this new topographical arrangement remains quite obscure. Moreover, Psoma does not provide any evidence that fits the history of this region in the fourth century BC.

The second half of the fourth century BC was a particularly eventful time for Thrace with Philip's II interventions in the area.<sup>23</sup> For example, in 353 BC he attacked the territories of both Maroneia and Abdera, but it is usually assumed that he did not obtain control of the former until

<sup>20</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) lxiii.

<sup>21</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) esp. lxiv and lxv. Karadima and Terzopoulou, lxiii n. 53, also write "The hypothesis of S. Psoma that Orthagoreia was founded at the site of Hellenistic Maroneia on the basis of coin study and the reference to Pliny, though highly possible, has the risk that new finds of the archaeological research may produce new evidence from sites east of Maroneia like Exochi (Giakin, Tsifliki) or Petrota, where there are surface finds dating to the Hellenistic period (...)."

<sup>22</sup> Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2004) esp. 57; Karadima & Psoma (2007) 292.

<sup>23</sup> Hammond (1979) esp. II 259-269.

338.<sup>24</sup> Psoma argues that the numismatic evidence “indicates a date in the beginning of the fourth century for the foundation of Orthagoreia. This date and the connection of its coinage with Macedonia suggest an association with the campaigns of Philip II in Thrace ... Orthagoreia was most probably founded by Philip II after he captured the promontory of Serrheion and the plain of Doriskos in spring 346 BC.”<sup>25</sup> In this reconstruction, the city was ‘synoicized’ with Maroneia, which, in turn, had been moved 20 km to the east of its original location by Philip, only a few decades after it had been founded. That Philip founded Orthagoreia is an assumption; the eventual “synoicism” argued for by Psoma is problematic because it uses the coinage from the area and privileges Pliny’s account at the expense of Strabo’s, as I have discussed above. Psoma adds one small bronze coin from Molyvoti as additional support for this hypothesis: “on the reverse we find grapes, the standard reverse of Maroneia fourth-century coinage, and the helmet of Orthagoreia.”<sup>26</sup> According to Psoma, in synoicized cities it is common to find coin types continuing from the old communities. Yet Psoma appends a list of alleged parallel cases in which, however, one finds instances of synoicisms along with examples of cities that were renamed.<sup>27</sup> This short catalogue of cities is conceptually problematic, as this quote shows:

Coin types of cities that were synoecized with others often occur on the currency of the newly founded city. The parallel cases of

<sup>24</sup> See Polyæn. 4.2.22. Also relevant are [Demosth.] 12.17 and Demosth. 23.183. See also Isaac (1986) 121 with reference to Hammond whose chronology relies on Accame (1941) 198 n. 7. According to García Gonzáles, the family of Hipparchia of Maroneia moved to Athens when Philip took Maroneia, but he claims it occurred in 355. The author does not discuss the chronology *ad annum* he offers. See García Gonzáles (1988) 180 n. 5 and García Gonzáles & Fuentes Gonzáles (1994) 744.

<sup>25</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) 198–199. Psoma elaborates on the size and nature of Orthagoreia by quoting Griffith, *MH* 559, who cites a translation of Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 110, and then concludes: “the size of Orthagoreia was not very large and probably similar to Philip’s other foundations which averaged two thousand settlers.” That this was so is only a hypothesis that relies on very little evidence. The number of the inhabitants, for example, comes from the fragment of Theopompus and I am not alone in questioning the reliability of single numbers within fragmentary (or not) ancient sources. This is a difficult topic that cannot be lightly treated and certainly we cannot take the number at face value. Moreover, according to Theopompus, these “2,000” constituted a group of “rogues of all sorts.” The sheer size does not tell anything about a foundation, even less a generic number with a general, derogatory assessment of the “human component” of the new foundation. Finally, I wonder whether a foundation with 2,000 can be characterized as a ‘small’ foundation.

<sup>26</sup> This, however, could be simply and broadly Macedonian, see Psoma e.a. (2008) 198.

<sup>27</sup> For a definition and discussion of *synoikismos* and *sympoliteia*, see Walser (2009) 135–155.

Philippopolis Gomphoi, Arsinoe Rhitymna, Alexandria Troas, Antiocheia Kebren, Ptolemais Larisa, Antiocheia in Mysia, Eurydikeia Smyrna, Antiocheia Alabanda, Seleukeia on the Pyramos Mopsuestia and Apameia Myrleia strongly suggest that the two cities Maroneia and Orthagoreia were synoicized. Alternatively, Orthagoreia may have been simply absorbed by Maroneia. The name of the old Chian colony was retained for the new city.<sup>28</sup>

The first city listed, Philippopolis-Gomphoi in northwestern Thessaly, never underwent synoicism as the city of Gomphoi was renamed Philippoi/Philippopolis.<sup>29</sup> The same can be said for Arsinoe-Rhethymna, Ptolemais-Larisa, Antiocheia in Mysia, Antiocheia-Alabanda, and Seleukeia on the Pyramos-Mopsuestia.<sup>30</sup> The renaming of a city under Hellenistic kings is a well-attested phenomenon, and so is *synoikismos*, but these are different acts. The first most likely does not involve any change in the social and institutional structure of a town, and even less touches upon its location; the second does indicate social and institutional change, even if it does not always include a move, as for example Alexandria Troas (included in their list). Another problem is that the list is chronologically irrelevant, since *perhaps* Philip II was responsible for the renaming of one of these cities, Gomphoi-Philippoi; all others are later. A single coin and a problematic list of alleged parallel cases does not “strongly suggest that the two cities of Maroneia and Orthagoreia were synoicized.”<sup>31</sup> Also, since Psoma asserts that Pliny’s testimony is accurate, why does she reject his statement implying that Orthagoreia was renamed Maroneia? Further, what would then be the difference between a synoicism and one city absorbing another? In brief, while Psoma’s work is indeed valuable, it is unconvincing on the actual institutional and political process of the events that involved the cities of Maroneia and Orthagoreia.

We do know that Philip intervened on the structure, location, or foundation of towns, but the extent of his involvement is hard to gauge given the meager surviving evidence.<sup>32</sup> According to Psoma, Philip founded

<sup>28</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) 200-201.

<sup>29</sup> See Cohen (1995) 116-118.

<sup>30</sup> See Cohen (1995): Arsinoe-Rhitymna, 139-140; Ptolemais Larisa, 157-159; Antioch in Mysia, 165; Antiocheia Alabanda, 248-250; Seleukeia on the Pyramos Mopsuestia, 371-372. On Alexandria Troas, see 145-148.

<sup>31</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) 201.

<sup>32</sup> Ellis (1969) 9-17 is still the most detailed work on this topic. Psoma e.a. (2008) 198-199 list anew the few available sources that informed Ellis’s work, but the authors cite a passage that in fact comes from Justin 8.5.7-6.2 as Isokrates, *Philippus* 120-123 when using Ellis’s translation. This is certainly a small sin in what is an overall careful work.

Orthagoreia at some point in the second half of the fourth century BC south of Mt. Ismaros, on the coast, in a territory that, and this I find quite hard to believe, had not been occupied already. At the same time, Maroneia moved or was compelled to move, for an unknown reason, from a site that does not bear direct evidence of violent destruction and — somehow — absorbed Orthagoreia (they postulate the same for Stryme, which they remove from the Molyvoti peninsula);<sup>33</sup> from then on, the *polis* of Maroneia prospered on that very site.<sup>34</sup> Did Philip prompt this process and, if so, why and what actually was this “process”? Why would he move an entire city 20 km across his frontier shortly after taking it by force and thereby delete his new foundation?

Faced by these questions, I cannot help but scrutinize the Psoma’s hypothesis, as it relies on numismatic evidence from Orthagoreia and on a difficult passage of Pliny that forces us to discard the testimony of Strabo. The numismatic evidence indeed is copious at the site of Hellenistic Maroneia, possibly adjacent to Orthagoreia, but it is also very abundant in other areas, such as Abdera. Moreover, as Chryssanthaki-Nagle has noted, Maroneia struck its own coins in the fourth century, which then would be contemporary to those from Orthagoreia.<sup>35</sup>

In 1940 L. Robert stated that the only piece of information we have on Orthagoreia is that it was located east of Maroneia (thereby endorsing Strabo’s testimony). Also, he suggested that, judging by the name, Orthagoreia was probably one of the rare cases for this period in which a city had been renamed. Robert thought Orthagoreia came from a personal name, maybe that of a dynast or a local tyrant.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> So Loukopoulou & Psoma (2008) 76.

<sup>34</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) 201: “If Orthagoreia was a short-lived city founded by Philip II on the site of Maroneia, and Maroneia was a city whose foundation dates from the Archaic period, the only explanation for Pliny’s information is the abandonment of the Archaic and Classical city of Maroneia and its re-foundation in the territory of Orthagoreia. The city’s transfer from the peninsula of Molyvoti to the very privileged and imposing site of Hagios Athanassios, on the south slopes of Mount Ismaros, can only be determined by close inspection of other archaeological remains (Map 5). Numismatic evidence points to a date before the end of the fourth century B.C.” These conclusions, however, only rely on the very arguments that these scholars offer, namely (1) that Orthagoreia was a short-lived foundation of Philip II; (2) that Pliny’s testimony is reliable (and Strabo’s is flawed) but somehow he is still not accurate as he talks about renaming and not synoicizing; and (3) that Orthagoreia was built on the site of Maroneia. But none of these assertions can be proven.

<sup>35</sup> Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2004) esp. 57. Psoma e.a. and Chryssanthaki-Nagle differ on the chronology: the former supports that Orthagoreia’s issues stopped in the fourth century BC and the latter argues that it continued until the early third century BC.

<sup>36</sup> Psoma e.a. (2008) 201–203 propose an alternate hypothesis that it was a cultic name.

Therefore, it is not far-fetched to hypothesize the existence of a city whose original name was changed into Orthagoreia and later reverted to its original name, whatever it was. I am, however, skeptical that this city was Maroneia. Not only does Strabo describe the two cities as being contemporary, but also the numismatic evidence may suggest the same with the simultaneous presence of coins from Maroneia and Orthagoreia. It is striking that so many of Orthagoreia's coins were found at the site of Maroneia, but, for example, very many have been found in Abdera, too. Thus, it is difficult to accept coins as definitive evidence for a very elaborate, yet unclear, historical process.

We do not know where Orthagoreia was located.<sup>37</sup> There is no other available information on its identification or its history, as we lack the luxury of more evidence from ancient texts. We can only patiently await results from further and future archaeological investigations. Psoma presents an attractive, but ultimately difficult thesis that neglects to analyze the processes supposedly involved. What we tend to forget when looking at the distant past is that movement included people, cultural, and social entities. The logistics were certainly complex, but even more so must have been the new arrangements in socio-political terms.

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<sup>37</sup> See n. 21 above and Tsatsopoulou (2007) 648-656.



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## AES EXCURRENS AND THE ABACUS<sup>\*</sup>

*Abstract:* This paper seeks to shed some new light on the function of the *abacus* (counting board) as an instrument for financial computations in Roman times. The likely layout of the *abacus* is presented for the Roman monetary notations for *aes excurrens* (small change) in the *as*-, *sestertius*- and *denarius*-based accounting systems mentioned in L. Volusius Maecianus' *Distributio Partium*. It is shown that the Roman *abacus* possessed the flexibility needed for handling both the common Roman duodecimal fractions and the less common decimal fractions, i.e. the *libella* and its subdivisions. In turn, the very design of the *abacus* seems to have driven the later Roman notations for small change.

### INTRODUCTION, OBJECTIVES, ORGANISATION

In the text *Distributio Partium* (*DP*) by Lucius Volusius Maecianus (Maecianus, for short)<sup>1</sup>, which is one of the few primary sources for Roman metrology, reference is made to the different notations that the Romans supposedly used to record sums of money. Monetary amounts were registered in terms of multiples and fractions of the accounting units in use: at the time a clear distinction was made between *as*-, *sestertius*- and *denarius*-based monetary notations and types of accounting, known as the *ratio aeraria*, *ratio sestertiaria* (or *ratio ad sestertium*) and *ratio denariaria* (or

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<sup>1</sup> Lucius Volusius Maecianus (c. 110-166 CE) was a respected jurist under the emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, see Liebs (1997, 2010). For further details of his military and civil careers, see the electronic portal *PIR*<sup>2</sup> (2015), entry V 973. Available text editions of Maecianus' *Distributio Partium* (*DP*) include those by Mommsen (1853) 281-295, Hultsch (1864) 61-71 and Huschke e.a. (1908) 409-418; in the current paper Mommsen's edition of the *DP* has been used throughout.

*ratio ad denarium*), respectively.<sup>2</sup> In his *DP*, Maecianus explains their use to his emperor to be, Marcus Aurelius, and points to a remarkable diversity in the ‘official’ notations<sup>3</sup> for *aes excurrens* (small change), i.e. for money with a value less than that of the accounting unit. Depending on the accounting system used, small change was apparently recorded either in terms of the Roman duodecimal fractions (multiples of the *uncia* = 1/12 *as* and smaller sub-units) or in terms of the archaic — and much less common — decimal fractions *libella* = 1/10, *sembella* = *singula* = 1/20, and *ter(r) uncus* = 1/40. As suggested by Maecianus, most likely the *libella* was originally, at the time of the Early Roman Republic, a silver coin and the counterpart of the bronze *as*, worth 1/10 of the early *denarius*, but later on survived merely as a fraction equal to 1/10.

The above exotic decimal fractions are also mentioned by earlier classical authors, though very sporadically.<sup>4</sup>

As to the secondary literature on this topic, it appears that the various types of Roman monetary notations were discussed in the past, notably in a number of Austrian and German contributions dating from 30 to 100 years ago.<sup>5</sup> In particular, Alfred Nagl’s 1914 paper, entitled ‘Die Rechen-tafel der Alten’, is to be seen as a key reference, providing an early and comprehensive discussion of the *DP* of Maecianus and hinting also at a plausible connection between the build-up of some of the above monetary notations for small change and the layout of the Roman *abacus* (counting board).<sup>6</sup> The most recent literature generally seems to virtually ignore these subjects.<sup>7</sup> Yet, the actual existence of the notations for small change, mentioned in Maecianus’ *DP*, was unequivocally confirmed in a

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *Pro Publio Quintio* 17, mentions the *ratio aeraria*; Maecianus (in *DP* [48-63, 64-73]) focuses mainly on the *ratio sestertiaria* and *denariaria*.

<sup>3</sup> The qualification ‘official’ is used here under the assumption that Maecianus would share with his emperor mainly those monetary notations that had some official status.

<sup>4</sup> For explicit literary references made by classical authors to the *libella* and its subdivisions, see below, notes 22-23.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Friedlein (1869), Beigel (1904), Nagl (1914, 1918), Röhle (1987).

<sup>6</sup> See Nagl (1914), notably ch. III, p. 66-77. For a brief overview of that work, see also Nagl (1918), consisting of three additional articles in the *RE*, entitled ‘Abacus’, ‘Aes excurrens’ and ‘Kleingeldrechnung’.

<sup>7</sup> In a detailed paper by Cuomo (2007) on the *DP* of Maecianus, various Roman metrological characteristics were discussed extensively; however, little attention was given to the remarkable diversity in the monetary notations mentioned by Maecianus for small change (the main subject of the current paper). The same applies to the dissertation of LaGroue (2014), geared specifically to Roman accounting and auditing. Recent work which does deal with Latin notations for small change includes the studies by Grassl (2014, 2015 and 2018) on the lead and wooden tablets from a variety of Roman provinces,

recent exploratory/inventory study by the author, based on focused searches in the nowadays readily available literary, epigraphical and papyrological source material; in the same study also an assessment of the approximate chronology of the different types of Roman accounting could be made.<sup>8</sup> The current study is to be seen as a companion to that exploratory/inventory study, specifically devoted to the use of the Roman *abacus* for handling small change.

When considering the professional practice of accounting, the *abacus* comes into the picture as an early instrument suitable for elementary arithmetic operations, including financial computations. In fact, the sparse extant physical examples of the Roman *abacus* show symbols that have both a numeric and a purely monetary connotation, thus hinting at its use as an accounting tool. Also, the very wording *aes excurrens* directly refers to the physical handling of small change on the *abacus* and certainly provides another strong pointer to the *abacus* having been used for accounting purposes.<sup>9</sup>

Although the operation of the classical *abacus* has been extensively treated in the literature, the descriptions about its use for the specific handling of small change generally seem underdeveloped.<sup>10</sup> For this reason,

the majority of which were (re-)interpreted in terms of the common duodecimal notations pertaining to the *denarius* type of accounting.

<sup>8</sup> See De Bree (2019), forthcoming.

<sup>9</sup> In view of the definition of small change as money smaller than (i.e. being a fraction of) the accounting unit, it was physically handled on the right-hand side of the Roman *abacus*. As will be discussed in more detail in the main text of this article, fractions were manipulated by up- and downshifting the beads in the various slots grooved in the *abacus*' surface. Obviously, this had to be done without letting these beads run over and drop from the edges of the counting board, as this would make them literally *aes excurrens* ('money running over'), which is the wording used by Maecianus in *DP* [63]. Similar expressions for small change are found elsewhere: it is, for example, referred to as *et quod excurrit* ('what runs over') on the inscription *CIL VI 33840, 1* (Rome, 25 July, AD 227) = EDCS-24100613, which is further discussed by Gordon (1983) 161 and Röhle (1987).

At this point, it is to be noted that in practice an easy way to prevent the beads from running over was to design the *abacus* with raised edges: compare Schärli (2004) 68, discussing an engraved *abacus* with such edges, actually found in Trier, Germany.

<sup>10</sup> For a description of the supposed use of the various extant classical *abaci*, the main early references are Friedlein (1869) and, again, Nagl (1914), who both mention the notations of Maecianus for small change, but do not give all the operational details that are provided in the current article. More recent literature about the *abacus* is found in Pullan (1968), Fellmann (1983), Ifrah (1985), Schärli (2001, 2003, 2004, 2006) and Stephenson (2013): none of these refer to Maecianus' *DP*.

Also worth mentioning, in this connection, are the works of Turner (1951) and Maher & Makowski (2001), who discuss how various Roman authors seem to have dealt with

it was felt that a more complete overview, appreciating the fundamental and rich functionality of the Roman *abacus*, was desirable, the more so now that a fully recovered Roman *abacus* (found in Aosta, Italy, discussed below) is available.

The main question that will be addressed in this paper is how precisely the Roman counting board could have handled the different types of Roman monetary notations, notably the different fractions needed to represent small change. To that end, first a brief description will be presented of the well-established and generally accepted functionality of the *abacus* for operations with whole numbers and the common well-known duodecimal fractions. Subsequently, leaning on, but also extending Nagl's work, the focus will be on the adaptation of the *abacus* for its use in the various Roman accounting systems, which were based on the *as*, *denarius* or *sestertius* as accounting unit: it will be shown that this leads almost automatically to the description of the functionality of the *abacus* for handling the far less familiar decimal fractions, i.e. the *libella* and its subdivisions.

A concise overview of the full paper is provided in the section 'Synopsis and Conclusions'. The most commonly encountered Roman numeral symbols are, for convenience, summarized in Appendix A, Tables A1-3.

#### THE EXTANT ROMAN *ABACI*

The modest number of extant Roman *abaci* handed down to us are metallic, rectangularly shaped plates, fitted with a series of parallel slots, in which metal beads can be shifted to up or down positions, for the purpose of indicating numbers and for carrying out computations with numbers.<sup>11</sup> Fig. 1 gives a representation of the two known types of Roman *abaci*. One type, shown on the left, represents a table-version of the *abacus*, which has been reconstructed on the basis of early (17th-century) documentation (the *abaci* themselves are lost, see the figure legend). A second type,

arithmetical operations, including Columella in *De Re Rustica*, Frontinus in *De Aquaeductu Urbis Romae*, the Elder Pliny in *Naturalis Historia*, and Vitruvius in *De Architectura*. Generally only arithmetical operations involving Roman whole numbers and duodecimal fractions are treated, decimal fractions being completely ignored.

<sup>11</sup> The fact that the number of extant Roman *abaci* is so small (three to five) may possibly be due to most of them having been made of wood rather than metal, and therefore not having withstood the test of time.

	
<p>Reconstruction of a table-version of a portable <i>abacus</i> (missing a few beads). Owned by the Römisch-Germanisches Zentral Museum (RGZM), Mainz.*</p> <p>The above RGZM reconstruction is in line with the detailed documentation regarding two, nowadays no longer available, <i>abaci</i> (compare Fellmann (1983)), i.e.:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– Bronze <i>abacus</i>. Dimensions: 10.7 cm × 9.6 cm. Publication Welsch (1682), p 819.</li><li>– Bronze <i>abacus</i>. Dimensions: 12. cm × 8.9 cm. Publication Pignoria (1674), pp 339-340.</li></ul>	<p>Front side of the original, complete, bronze hand-held portable <i>abacus</i> (still containing all 45 beads). Dimensions: 13.6 cm × 9.1 cm. Found in the St. Martin-de-Corléans Cemetery, Aosta, Italy. Probable date: 1st century CE. Nowadays kept in the Museo Archeologico Regionale, Aosta.**</p> <p>The Aosta <i>abacus</i> shown here is very similar to two other extant, but incomplete, <i>abaci</i> (compare Fellmann (1983)), both missing a few beads (a.o. having only two rather than four beads in the outermost right slot). Said <i>abaci</i> are the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>– Bronze <i>abacus</i>. Dimensions: 12.5 cm × 8 cm. Original kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Medailles, Paris.</li><li>– Bronze <i>abacus</i>. Dimensions: 11.4 cm × 7.2 cm. Original kept in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome.</li></ul>
<p>* Photograph (inv. no. 42442) by René Müller. Usage by courtesy of the RGZM.</p>	<p>** Auteur L. Berriat. Utilisation autorisée par la Région Autonome Vallée d'Aoste, Assessorat de l'Education et de la Culture, Département de la surintendance des activités et des biens culturels, Patrimoine Archéologique, Archives Archéologie.</p>

Fig. 1: Roman portable *abaci*

shown on the right, is an original — and presumably complete — hand-held *abacus*, which was found in the 20th century in Aosta (Italy) and which closely resembles two other extant, though incomplete, *abaci* preserved elsewhere (see again the figure legend). The second type is seen to possess fewer slots on the far right-hand side than the first type. The probable functionality of both types will be described below, guided by their schematic representations, given in Figs. 2a-b.

#### THE STANDARD FUNCTIONALITY OF THE *ABACUS*

##### *Representation of whole numbers*

The seven slots (*alveoli*) on the left-hand side (LHS) of the metallic *abaci*, shown in Figs. 1-2, are thought to be dedicated to the counting of and computation with whole numbers. Each of those seven slots is marked with the symbol for one of the common Roman numbers for successive decades (positive powers of 10, see Appendix A, Table A1).<sup>12</sup> The slots are arranged with the decades increasing in magnitude from right to left, i.e. beginning with the slot for the units (marked with symbol I for  $10^0 = 1 =$  the *as*), followed by the one for tens (symbol X for  $10^1 = 10$ ), etc. and ending with the leftmost slot for indicating millions (symbol  $\overline{\text{M}}$  for  $10 \cdot 10^5 = 10^6$ ). Each slot consists of two grooved compartments, the lower (long) compartment having up to 4 beads (*claviculi*) and the upper (short) compartment having just one single bead. The zero-position in each compartment corresponds to all beads shifted to the lowermost position in the groove (see the ‘neutral layout’ in Figs. 2a-b). Multiples of the various powers of 10 can then be indicated by shifting the appropriate beads in the upward direction: the beads in the lower compartment to indicate the multiples 1, 2, 3 and 4 and the single bead in the upper compartment to indicate the multiple 5. Hence, by combining the total up-beads in the two compartments belonging to each slot, a maximum of 9 multiples for each power of 10 can be represented. This set-up allows all simple arithmetic operations with whole numbers, including counting, summation, subtraction, multiplication (seen as repeated summation) and division (seen as repeated subtraction), to be carried out straightforwardly.

<sup>12</sup> Note that the symbols marking the various slots of the *abacus* (and indicated in the figures in the current paper) are based on those given in 17th-century documentation (see the legend in Fig. 1): due to wear, the symbols are nowadays no longer readable on the originals.

*Representation of the common Roman duodecimal fractions*

The two remaining slots on the right-hand side (RHS) of the *abacus*, shown in Figs. 1-2, are thought to be dedicated to the handling of fractions. As each fraction-slot usually bears one of the typical symbols of the well-known Roman duodecimal system (Appendix A, Table A3), it is generally assumed that those fractions must correspond to duodecimal fractions, i.e. multiples of the negative powers of 12 (rather than 10).

The first fraction-slot, marked with the symbol O (presumably for (*o*) *uncia*), consists of two compartments with the lower (long) compartment containing 5 beads (rather than 4) and the upper (short) compartment containing a single bead for the multiple 6 (rather than 5). Hence, by combining the total up-beads in the two compartments belonging to this O-slot, a total of 11 different combinations can be formed, representing the 11 subdivisions of the unit (*as*), i.e. the 11 multiples of the *uncia* ( $= 12^{-1} = 1/12$ ).

The second fraction-slot, positioned to the right of the O-slot, serves to indicate various (but not all) subdivisions of the *uncia*, i.e. multiples of the *semi-sextula* ( $= 12^{-2} = 1/144$ ). This second fraction-slot consists of either three separate compartments ('Type 1' *abacus*, Fig. 2a) or a single compartment ('Type 2' *abacus*, Fig. 2b) to indicate the most common *sub-uncia* fractions.

The 'Type 1' *abacus* (with three *sub-uncia* compartments) contains:

- a single-bead compartment, marked  $\Sigma$  for *sem-uncia*  $= 1/2$  *uncia*  $= 1/24$ ;
- a single-bead compartment, marked  $\mathcal{O}$  for *sicilicus*  $= 1/2$  *sem-uncia*  $= 1/48$ ;
- a dual-bead compartment, marked 2 for *sextula*, where:  
     two beads up represent the *binae-sextulae*  $=$  *duella*  $= 1/3$  *uncia*  $= 1/36$ ;  
     one bead up represents the *sextula* ( $=$  *solidus*)  $= 1/3$  *sem-uncia*  $= 1/72$ .

The 'Type 2' *abacus* (with the single *sub-uncia* compartment) can be interpreted as containing a shortcut for denoting the same duodecimal fractions as in the previous type of *abacus*, i.e. it consists of a single slot with three marks  $\Sigma$ ,  $\mathcal{O}$  and 2 at the side: the length of this slot provides sufficient space to enable each of the above fractions to be indicated, simply by shifting the required bead to the location on the side directly opposite its corresponding symbol. A total of four beads would thus be needed to indicate all four fractions.





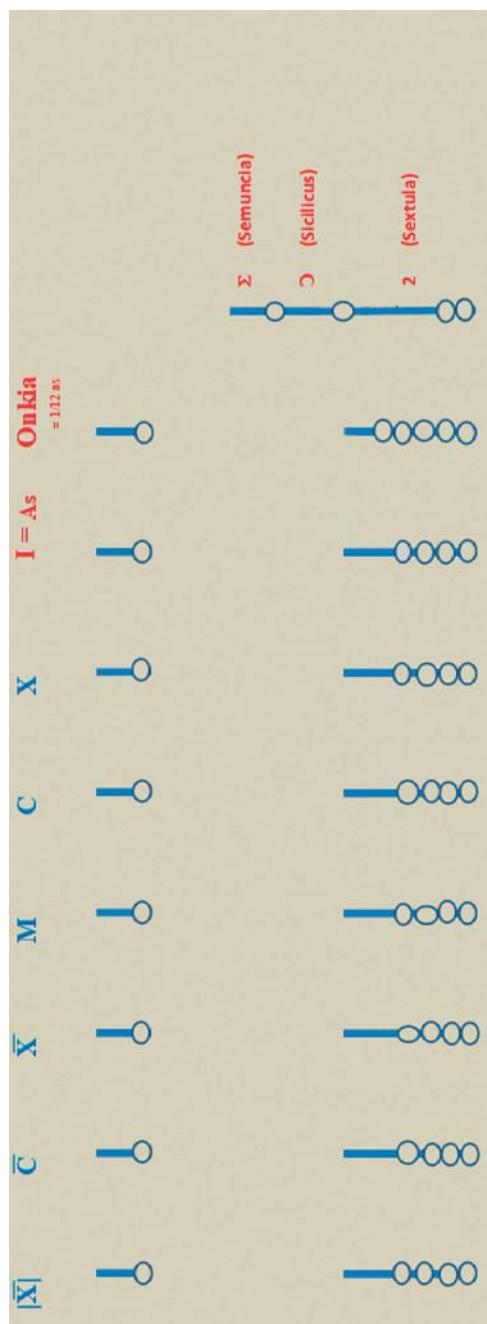


Fig. 2b: Roman *Abacus* with combined sub-*uncia* slots on RHS: neutral layout

*The abacus' leading formatting principles*

On inspection of the above standard layout of the Roman *abacus*, and in anticipation of the discussion of its other — perhaps less standard — formats, two design features stand out.

- (1) In the two slots on the RHS of the *abacus*, only a rather narrow selection of the most popular fractions was represented. The fractions shown actually belonged to the category of 'natural' fractions<sup>13</sup> and were, in addition, limited to the range of the first few successive powers of 1/12 (for duodecimal fractions) or 1/10 (for decimal fractions, discussed below). For smaller fractions, the addition of extra slots would have been necessary.<sup>14</sup>
- (2) The  $\Sigma$ -,  $\mathcal{O}$ - and 2-slots on the RHS accommodated a series of rather special fractions, i.e. from top to bottom:<sup>15</sup>
  - 1/2 of the fraction that bears the O-symbol;
  - 1/2 of the fraction that bears the  $\Sigma$ -symbol (= 1/4 of the fraction that bears the O-symbol);
  - 1/3 of the fraction that bears the O-symbol;
  - 1/3 of the fraction that bears the  $\Sigma$ -symbol (= 1/6 of the fraction that bears the O-symbol).

<sup>13</sup> As to the general handling of fractions, it is to be noted that, in Classical Antiquity, working with 'composed' fractions (i.e. fractions having a nominator unequal to one), was usually avoided by their conversion to sums of 'natural fractions'. Those 'natural' fractions consisted of unit fractions (i.e. fractions having a nominator equal to one, including 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/6, 1/8), augmented with a selection of other simple fractions that were also considered as 'natural' and that generally possessed their own dedicated name and symbol. To this latter category belonged, in Greek arithmetic, the fractions  $\beta = \tau\acute{\alpha} \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron = \tau\acute{o} \delta\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\nu = 2/3$ ,  $\vartheta = \tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha = 3/4$ ; in Roman arithmetic they included the eleven multiples of the *uncia*. In this way, the set of Roman 'natural' fractions counted some twenty duodecimal fractions (mentioned in Maecianus *DP* [1-43] and also included in the list given in Appendix A, Table A3). For the decomposition (and approximation) of composed Roman fractions into unit fractions, see e.g. Maher & Makowski (2001).

As will become evident from the current article, the three decimal fractions, *libella*, *sembella* (or *singula*) and *ter(r)uncius* (mentioned in Maecianus *DP* [65-75] and listed in Appendix A, Table A2) could also be reckoned among the Roman 'natural' fractions.

<sup>14</sup> Obviously, multiples of the *uncia* (=  $12^{-1}$ ), *semi-sextula* (=  $12^{-2} = 1/144$ ), *siliqua* (=  $12^{-3} = 1/1728$ ) and multiples of the higher powers  $12^{-n}$  (Table A3) could have been easily represented on the *abacus*, if extended with extra fraction-slots having a similar dual-compartmental appearance (with 5 + 1 beads) as the O-slot described above.

<sup>15</sup> Be aware that, on the *abacus*, those four fractions are not represented in descending order of magnitude.

Apparently, the Romans were generally happy with an *abacus* layout with just those two fraction slots, probably because smaller fractions turned out to be fairly irrelevant for most of their counting, measuring and arithmetical applications.<sup>16</sup> They must also have grown accustomed over time to the — in our view — rather non-intuitive ordering of the fractions on the RHS. This familiarity will be taken here as a given: it will be assumed that the features under (1) and (2) functioned as general leading principles for the *abacus*' format, which steered the layouts needed for the designation of either 'natural' duodecimal or decimal fractions, required in the different accounting applications.

#### THE ABACUS AS AN ACCOUNTING INSTRUMENT

##### *General adjustments*

To enable the *abacus* to function as a convenient and flexible tool for the various Roman accounting systems and to handle their associated monetary notations, the following modest adjustments to the interpretation of its lay-out were generally needed:

- the reinterpretation of the symbol marking the I-slot for the accounting unit under consideration;
- the reinterpretation of the symbols along the RHS slots marking the various fractions of the accounting unit;
- the blocking of some positions for the beads in selected RHS slots, depending on the type of fractions used.

These adjustments will be described below separately for each accounting system, treated in the presumed chronological order of those systems.<sup>17</sup> As an instructive example for each system the representation of an amount of money worth 1 *as* = 1/10 'old' *denarius* = 1/16 'new' *denarius* = 1/4 'new' *sestertius* will be given (shown in Figs. 3a-d). For

<sup>16</sup> For a poem mentioning lucidly a plethora of Roman measures, see e.g. Remmius Favinus, *Carmen de Ponderibus et Mensuris*.

<sup>17</sup> In the following, ample use will be made (without further elaboration) of the chronological landmarks for the various accounting systems, suggested in the previously mentioned companion paper De Bree (2019), including their link with the mainstream Greek–Roman monetary/numismatic history. For summaries of the Greek-Roman monetary/numismatic history, including photographs of all relevant coinage, compare for example: Howgego (1995), Harl (1996), Wolters (1999), Depyrot (2006), Sear (2008), Metcalf (2012), Sellars (2013).

simplicity, only the representations of the ‘Type 1’ *abaci* (with the separated, uncombined fraction slots) will be shown: it is a straightforward matter to derive the corresponding representations on the ‘Type 2’ *abaci*.

*The ratio aeraria: using the standard functionality of the abacus*

During the Early Roman Republic, the media of payment and exchange (*aes rude*, *aes signatum*, *aes grave*) involved a practice of weighing and counting of bronze (AE) nuggets and coins, which was based on the use of the *as*, its decimal multiples and its duodecimal subdivisions (fractions) as the units of measurement.<sup>18</sup> It is a small step to assume that this practice was also the origin of the *ratio aeraria*, which would for a long time remain the default accounting system.<sup>19</sup>

In the *ratio aeraria*, the *as* was thus the accounting unit (symbol A)<sup>20</sup> and all *aes excurrentes* (in this type of accounting all money smaller than the *as*) was directly represented by the common duodecimal fractions of the *as* (Table A3). Hence, for the actual practice of accounting and to represent the monetary notations in this *ratio aeraria*, the Roman *abacus* could be used in its standard set-up (Fig. 3a), which was already discussed above:

- the X-*alveolus* and higher *alveoli* indicated 10-90 *asses* and higher multiples, respectively;
- the I-*alveolus* indicated 0-9 *asses*;
- the O-*alveolus* indicated 0-11 *unciae* (where 1 *uncia* = 1/12 *as*);
- the Σ-*alveolus*, ∩-*alveolus* and 2-*alveolus* accommodated the potential binary values (0 or 1) corresponding to a *semuncia* = 1/2 *uncia*, *sicilicus* = 1/2 *semuncia*, *duella* = 1/3 *uncia* (two beads up) and *sextula* = 1/3 *semuncia* (one bead up).

Roman coinage smaller than the *semuncia* never existed. However, the over-functionality provided by the availability of the ∩-*alveolus* and 2-*alveolus* came in handy when calculations had to be made involving booking amounts of money (real or virtual) smaller than the *semuncia*. Hence, in principle all slots of the *abacus* and all 45 beads could be used.

<sup>18</sup> Note, in the following, the use of the abbreviations: AE = bronze, AR = silver, AV = gold.

<sup>19</sup> Compare e.g. Cicero, *Pro Publio Quinctio* 17, attesting the *ratio aeraria* as the type of bookkeeping still current in his time.

<sup>20</sup> A = *asses* or *aeres* (nominativus pluralis) if preceding multiples; A = *aeris* (genitivus partitivus singularis) if preceding fractions.

Obviously, in the *ratio aeraria* an amount of money, worth 1 *as*, corresponded simply with one bead up in the I-slot (Fig. 3a).

*The 'old style' ratio denariaria: using decimal fractions*

Silver (AR) coinage showed up in Roman monetary traffic during the Early to Mid Roman Republic, first in the form of a romanised *didrachma*, later with the emission of the purely Roman *quadrigatus* (c. 225 BC) and culminating, in 211 BC, in the release of the famous *denarius*, the latter with an original value of X (= 10) *asses*.<sup>21</sup> In addition, various Roman writers<sup>22</sup> mention, as early denominations, a number of small silver coins:

- *libella* (= '*libra pusilla*'), the AR counterpart of the large AE *as* (= *libra*);
- *sembella* (= '*semi-libella*') = *singula* = 1/2 *libella*, the AR counterpart of the AE *semis* = 1/2 *as*;
- *ter(r)uncius* = 1/4 *libella*, the AR counterpart of the AE *quadrans* = 1/4 *as*.

Thus the relationship 1 (AR) *libella* = 1 (AE) *as* = 1/10 *denarius* would apparently have applied at the time. Since the *libella* and its denominations have never been actually found anywhere, neither in hoards, excavations nor stray finds, the existence of those silver coins remains a bit of a mystery. Whatever their precise origin and fate, the *libella*, *sembella/singula* and *ter(r)uncius* did, nevertheless, survive over time as special decimal fractions of, respectively, 1/10, 1/20 and 1/40 (Table A2): these were used, for example, to indicate parts of an inheritance and in certain proverbial expressions.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Around the same time (211 BC) the well-known silver denominations of the *denarius*, i.e. the *quinarius* = 1/2 *denarius* and *sestertius* = 1/4 *denarius*, were presumably introduced as well.

<sup>22</sup> For early references to the *libella* and its denominations, compare:

- Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 5.173-174 (mentioning the silver *as* = *libella* = 1/10 *denarius*, as well as the silver coins *simbella* = 1/2 *libella*, *terruncius* = 1/4 *libella* as being the silver counterparts of the bronze *as*, *semis* = 1/2 *as* and *quadrans* = 1/4 *as*, respectively);
- Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 33.14 (mentioning the *libella*);
- Maecianus, *DP* [74] (apparently preferring the use of the term *singula* rather than *sembella*).

<sup>23</sup> The fractions *libella*, etc. are used in expressions such as *heres ex libella*, *heres ex terruncio* = heir entitled to 1/10 and 1/40 of the inheritance, respectively (see Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 7.3). They are also used proverbially for very small sums of money, as in e.g.:

- *una libella liber possum fieri* = 'I can get freed for a farthing' (see Plautus, *Casina*, Act II, Scene 5);
- *ad libellam* = 'to a farthing' (see Cicero, *Pro Quintio Roscio Comoedo* 4.11).

Maecianus<sup>24</sup> seems to assume that, from the time that the early silver *denarius* = 10 *asses* = 10 *libellae* was introduced, the Romans concomitantly started using a first version of a *denarius*-based bookkeeping method for their silver money (presumably parallel to, but separate from the existing *ratio aeraria* for their bronze money). In this ‘old style’ *ratio denariaria* / *ratio ad denarium*<sup>25</sup> for silver money, the *denarius* was thus supposedly used as the accounting unit (symbol  $\text{X}$ ).<sup>26</sup> Small change (now defined as real or virtual money of a value less than one *denarius* = 10 *asses*) could simply be expressed as some fraction of the *denarius*, a role that was, of course, fulfilled naturally by each of the aforementioned decimal units, i.e. the *libella*, *sembella* (or *singula*) and *ter(r)uncius*.

In fact, the *abacus* could easily be adapted to act as a convenient computational aid for this ‘old style’ *ratio denariaria*, in a manner suggested by the following set-up (Fig. 3b):

- the X-*alveolus* and higher *alveoli* indicated, resp. 10-90 *denarii* and higher multiples;
- the I-*alveolus* indicated 0-9 *denarii*;
- the O-*alveolus*, with one of its 5 lower beads blocked,<sup>27</sup> indicated 0-9 *libellae* (where 1 *libella* = 1/10 *denarius* = 1 *as*);
- the single-bead *alveolus*, marked  $\Sigma$ , accommodated the binary values of 0 or 1 *sembella* = *singula* = 1/2 *libella* (= 1/20 *denarius* = 1 (*aeris*) *semis*);<sup>28</sup>
- the single-bead *alveolus*, marked  $\text{O}$ , accommodated the binary values of 0 or 1 *ter(r)uncius* = 1/2 *sembella/singula* = 1/4 *libella* (= 1/40 *denarius* = 1 (*aeris*) *quadrans*).

<sup>24</sup> Maecianus *DP* [74].

<sup>25</sup> In this paper the first version of the *denarius*-based bookkeeping (with one *denarius* = 10 *asses*) will be referred to as the ‘old style’ *ratio denariaria*, merely to distinguish it from its later version (with one *denarius* = 16 *asses*), denoted as the ‘new style’ *ratio denariaria* or, simply, as the *ratio denariaria*.

<sup>26</sup>  $\text{X}$  = *denarii* (nominative plural) if preceding multiples;  $\text{X}$  = *denarii* (genitive singular) if preceding fractions. The horizontal bar drawn through the symbol X ensured that the resulting symbol  $\text{X}$  for the accounting unit was clearly distinguishable from the number X = 10.

<sup>27</sup> By blocking one of the 5 beads in the lower compartment of the O-slot of the *abacus*, this slot was obviously converted into a slot for multiples of the first negative power of 10 (i.e.  $10^{-1}$  = 1/10) rather than 12.

<sup>28</sup> Note that, in the ‘old style’ *ratio denariaria*, an (*aeris*) *semis* equals 1/2 *as* = 1/2 *libella* = (*denarii*) *sembella*, which is not to be confused with the notation for an amount corresponding to a *denarii semis* = 5 *libellae* = 5 *asses* = 1 (AR) *quinarius*.

Further, following the assumed leading principle for formatting the *abacus* mentioned earlier:

- the dual-bead 2-*alveolus* accommodated the two fractions  $1/3$  *libella* = 1 (*aeris*) *triens* (two beads up) and  $1/3$  *sembella* =  $1/3$  *singula* = 1 (*aeris*) *sextans* (one bead up): both  $1/3$ -fractions kept their notation of the *ratio aeraria*, as they did not strictly fit within the presumed decimal definition (based on the exclusive use of fractions corresponding to divisions of the *libella* by successive factors of two rather than three).

Moreover:

- no *alveolus* was available for designating the next lower decimal  $1/2$ -fraction, which — complementary to the *terruncius* =  $1/2$  *sembella* =  $1/4$  *libella* — would have been the *dimidius-terruncius* (equal to  $1/2$  *terruncius* =  $1/80$  *denarius*). Similarly, no slots were available for even lower fractions, including those corresponding to the (*aeris*) *uncia* and (*aeris*) *semuncia* (which would not fit within the *decimal* definition anyway).

The suggested modification of the Roman *abacus* to this type of accounting seems fairly straightforward and credible, the more so when taking the two following considerations into account.

Firstly, the set-up explains straightaway the origin of the symbols in use for the various decimal fractions: it appears that fractions with the same symbol share, if represented on the Roman *abacus*, the same compartments and beads:<sup>29</sup>

- the horizontal bar symbol (–) for the decimal *libella* is the same as the one commonly used for the duodecimal *uncia*;<sup>30</sup>
- the symbol  $\Sigma$  is used for either the decimal *sembella/singula* or duo-decimal *semuncia*.

Note also, however, that:

- the symbol  $\oslash$  would need to be re-interpreted as being equivalent to the symbol T for the decimal *ter(r)uncius* rather than the duodecimal *sicilicus*.

<sup>29</sup> The similarity in symbols was already noticed in the past by both Friedlein (1869) 40 and Nagl (1914) 72-74.

<sup>30</sup> The symbols in use for the *uncia* vary and are given either by an open o, a dot (= closed o) or a horizontal bar.

Secondly, the absence of a dedicated *alveolus* for the *dimidius-terruncius* and smaller fractions<sup>31</sup> is entirely consistent with the absence of any special symbol for the *dimidius-terruncius* and smaller fractions noted by Maecianus.<sup>32</sup>

In this ‘old style’ *ratio denariaria*, an amount of money, worth 1 *as*, corresponded simply with one bead up in the O-slot (the *libella*-slot, Fig. 3b). A *semis* and a *quadrans* were indicated by one bead up in the  $\Sigma$ -*alveolus* and  $\mathcal{O}$ -*alveolus*, respectively. The equivalence of the original *terruncius* with the *quadrans* probably explains the name *ter(r)-uncius*. It is also evident that the accuracy of accounting in the ‘old style’ *ratio denariaria* did not go further than the *sextans*: hence, amounts of real money to be entered or paid out had to be rounded off to the next *sextans*; if necessary, the higher *subuncia* accuracy provided by the parallel *ratio aeraria* could serve as a complementary back-up.

*The ‘new style’ ratio denariaria: back to the standard duodecimal fractions*

In 141 BC the silver coinage underwent an important nominal reset, in that the silver *denarius* was given a value of 16 *asses*, rather than 10 *asses*.<sup>33</sup> This revaluation must have resulted in a (‘new style’) *ratio denariaria*, based on the reset *denarius* acting as the accounting unit (symbol  $\text{X}$ ).<sup>34</sup>

In the ‘new style’ *ratio denariaria*, small change (real or virtual money with a value less than one *denarius* = 16 *asses*) had to be re-expressed as some fraction of the revalued *denarius*. Since this no longer entertained the simple decimal relation with the *as* it had before, some conversions needed to be made. Following Maecianus,<sup>35</sup> it was actually decided to return to using the standard duodecimal fractions of the *denarius* for small change. To accomplish the conversion of an amount of money in *asses* to one in the new *denarii*, a two-step procedure was to be followed. The first step involved rewriting the target amount as a fraction of the *denarius*. If that

<sup>31</sup> The interpretation of the 2-slot and its consequence for the smaller fractions has not been provided earlier as far as the author is aware.

<sup>32</sup> In fact, Maecianus comments on the absence of a dedicated symbol for the *dimidius ter(r)uncius* in connection with the *ratio sestertaria* (DP [67]). This will be further discussed under that heading below.

<sup>33</sup> Concomitantly the silver *quinarius* and *sestertius* were revaluated to 8 *asses* and 4 *asses*, respectively.

<sup>34</sup> Maecianus DP [75].

<sup>35</sup> Maecianus DP [48-63].



step yielded a composed fraction, in a second step that fraction was to be converted into a sum of ‘natural’ duodecimal fractions.

The layout of the *abacus* for this new *ratio denariaria* (Fig. 3c) was thus very similar to that for the conventional *ratio aeraria*, except that the slot for the units (I-*alveolus*) had to be interpreted differently and all fractions on the *abacus* were now obviously to be interpreted as fractions of the *denarius* rather than of the *as*, specifically:

- the I-, X-*alveolus* and higher *alveoli* indicated, resp. 0-9, 10-90 and higher multiples of *denarii*;
- the O-*alveolus* indicated 0-11 *unciae* (where 1 *denarii uncia* corresponded to an amount of money of  $1/12$  *denarius* =  $4/3$  *as*);
- the Σ-*alveolus* accommodated the binary values of 0 or 1 *denarii semuncia* (or  $2/3$  *as*);
- the ∩-*alveolus* accommodated the binary values of 0 or 1 *denarii sicilicus* (or  $1/3$  *as*);
- the dual-bead 2-*alveolus* accommodated two fractions, one corresponding to  $1/3$  *denarii uncia* = *denarii duella* =  $4/9$  *as* (with two beads up), another corresponding to  $1/3$  *denarii semuncia* = *denarii sextula* =  $2/9$  *as* (with one bead up).

It is clear that the monetary representations in this ‘new style’ *ratio denariaria* could become rather non-intuitive. For example, small change with a value of 1 *as* corresponded to  $1/16$  *denarius* and, since  $1/16 = 1/24 + 1/48$ , this was to be denoted as 1 *as* = *denarii semuncia sicilicus* (Fig. 3c).

Various very common amounts could not be indicated at all on the *abacus*. For example, small change with a value of 1 *semis* corresponded to  $1/32$  *denarius* and, since  $1/32 = 1/36 + 1/288 = 1/48 + 1/144 + 1/288$ , this was to be denoted as 1 *semis* = *denarii binae-sextulae scripulum* = *denarii sicilicus semi-sextula scripulum*. However, the *semi-sextula* and *scripulum* fell outside the design range of the *abacus*. This immediately explains why Maecianus, in his discussion of this type of accounting, did not provide monetary notations for amounts smaller than the *as*:<sup>36</sup> he apparently had the *abacus* in mind and probably focused on the actual money/coinage that was around at the time. For booking purposes (dealing with virtual money), many amounts smaller than the *as* could still be handled in the *ratio denariaria*, such as 1 *triens* = 1 *denarii sicilicus*.

<sup>36</sup> Maecianus *DP* [48].

However, if really needed, the *ratio aeraria* could serve as an easier alternative for handling those smaller amounts.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the very set-up of the *abacus* itself obviously had a definite impact on the chosen format of the later monetary notations (rather than the other way round).

*The ratio sestertiaria: the renewed use of the archaic decimal fractions*

The far-reaching coinage reform proclaimed around 25 BC by Emperor Augustus meant that from then on his new *aureus*, *denarius* and *sestertius* acquired the status of the most important gold, silver and base metal coin, respectively. It seems plausible that, from that time onwards, the preferred types of accounting were the ongoing *ratio denariaria* (previous section) for silver money and a new — or rather updated — type of accounting for bronze money, the *ratio sestertiaria* / *ratio ad sestertium*. The *ratio aeraria* remained in place as a readily accessible default.<sup>37</sup>

According to Maecianus,<sup>38</sup> the *ratio sestertiaria* was characterised by the *sestertius* being the accounting unit (symbol HS or N)<sup>39</sup> and all amounts of money being expressed in terms of multiples and fractions of the *sestertius*. Probably to ensure that the terminology used would be properly distinguishable from that of the parallel (new style) *ratio denariaria*, the fractions representing small change in the *ratio sestertiaria* were expressed in terms of the archaic decimal fractions (i.e. the *libella*, *sembella/singula* and *terruncius*). To convert any amount of money in *asses* to one in new *sestertii*, again a two-step procedure was carried out. In the first step the target amount was rewritten as a fraction of the *sestertius*, followed by a second step, if necessary, in which that fraction

<sup>37</sup> It is known (compare De Bree (2019)) that — next to the *denarius* — the *sestertius* already served in Republican times, straight from its introduction in 211 BC, as a convenient accounting unit for the more significant amounts of silver money: multiples of *sestertii* could be represented simply by prefixing the amount in question (in whole numbers) with the accounting symbol HS, SS or N. Small change (any sub-unit of the *sestertius*), however, was generally denoted in terms of the *duodecimal* fractions of the *as* in the *ratio aeraria*. With the introduction of the bronze *sestertius* by Augustus this changed: the Augustan update of the *ratio sestertiaria* implied the introduction of new monetary notations (detailed below in the main text) which now did include those for small bronzes.

<sup>38</sup> Maecianus DP [64-73].

<sup>39</sup> HS, SS or N = *sestertii nummi*, *sestertii* or just *nummi*, standing for the nominative plural, if preceding multiples, or for the genitive singular, if preceding fractions. Note that the accounting symbol HS probably originates from drawing a horizontal bar through the original value symbol for the old *sestertius* = 1/4 old *denarius* = IIS *asses*.

was to be converted into a sum of the ‘natural’ decimal fractions (*libella*, *sembella/singula*, *terruncius*).

The set-up of the *abacus* for the *ratio sestertiaria* probably took the following form (Fig. 3d):

- the I-, X- and higher *alveoli* indicated, resp. 0-9, 10-90 and higher multiples of *sestertii*;
- the O-*alveolus*, with one of its lower *claviculi* blocked, indicated 0-9 *libellae* (where 1 *sestertii libella* corresponded to an amount of money of  $1/10$  *sestertius* =  $2/5$  *as*);
- the Σ-*alveolus* accommodated the binary values of 0 or 1 *sestertii sembella/singula* (or  $1/5$  *as*);
- the ∩-*alveolus* accommodated the binary values of 0 or 1 *sestertii terruncius* (or  $1/10$  *as*);
- the dual-bead 2-*alveolus* accommodated the purely theoretical fractions corresponding to  $1/3$  *sestertii libella* =  $2/15$  *as* (with two beads up) and  $1/3$  *sestertii sembella* =  $1/15$  *as* (with one bead up). Note that neither those  $1/3$ -fractions would fit, strictly, in the decimal set-up (for the same reasons as explained in the section about the ‘old style’ *ratio denariaria*), nor could they be written as a proper sum of natural duo-decimal fractions. Thus the 2-*alveolus* may even have been blocked completely as being fairly useless.

Once again, it is clear that the monetary representations in this *ratio sestertiaria* could appear rather idiosyncratic. For example, small change with a value of 1 *as* corresponded to  $1/4$  *sestertius*, and, since  $1/4 = 2/10 + 1/40$ , this was denoted as 1 *as* = *sestertii duae libellae singula* (Fig. 3d).

Further, a *semis* =  $1/2$  *as* corresponded to  $1/8$  *sestertius*, and, since  $1/8 = 1/10 + 1/40$ , this was denoted as 1 *semis* = *sestertii libella terruncius*.

A *quadrans* corresponded to  $1/16$  *sestertius*, and, since  $1/16 = 1/20 + 1/80$ , this could have been denoted as 1 *quadrans* = *sestertii sembella dimidius-terruncius*. However, as before, there was no slot available on the *abacus* for the *dimidius-terruncius*. This is in line with Maecianus’ remark that the *dimidius-terruncius* was not being used at all:<sup>40</sup> clearly, the very layout of the *abacus* was the reason for this limitation. Indeed, no *dimidius-terruncius* has been attested. Since the *quadrans* could thus

<sup>40</sup> Maecianus DP [67]): *Infra semissem nemo tenere rationem sestertiariam ducit. Potest tamen: nam quadrans, qui est pars sexta decima sestertii, poterit notari singula, quae est vicesima sestertii, et dimidio teruncio, qui est octogesima sestertii; nam utraque haec pars iuncta efficit sextam decimam.*

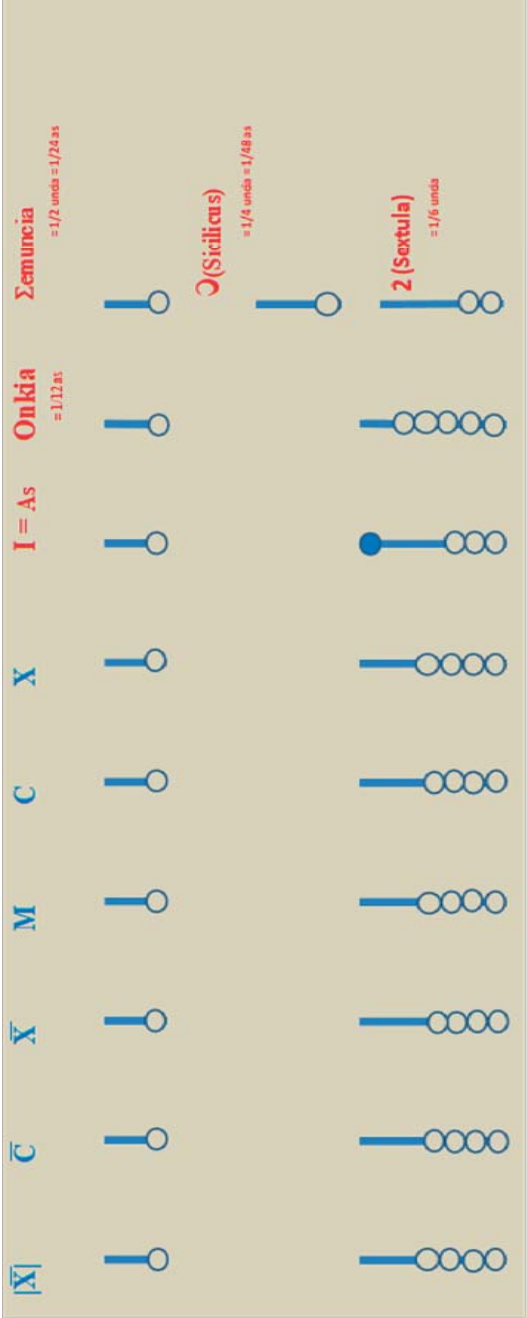
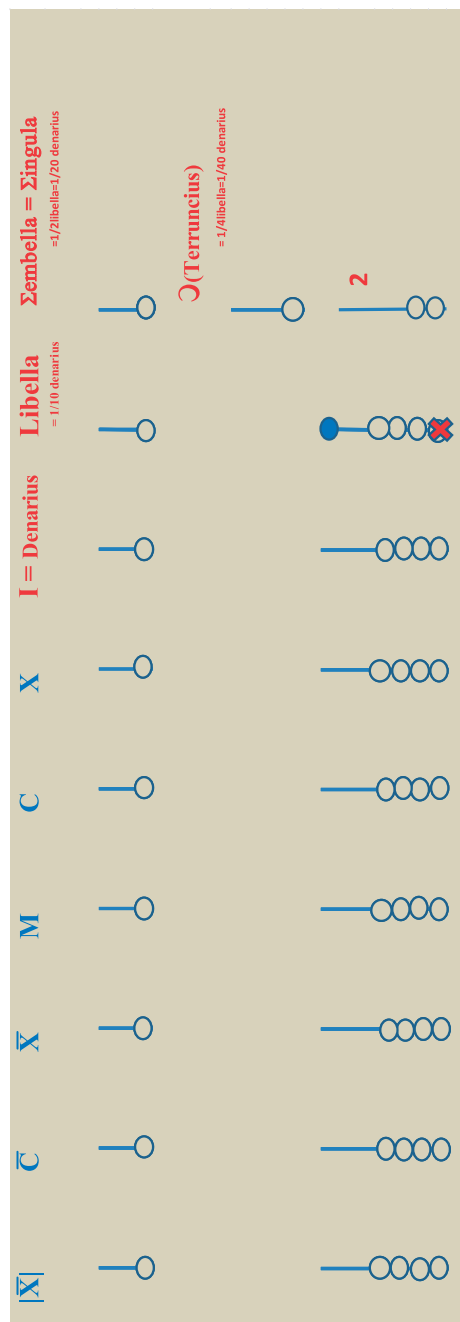


Fig. 3a: Roman Abacus: layout in the *ratio aeraria* and representation of an amount of 1 as



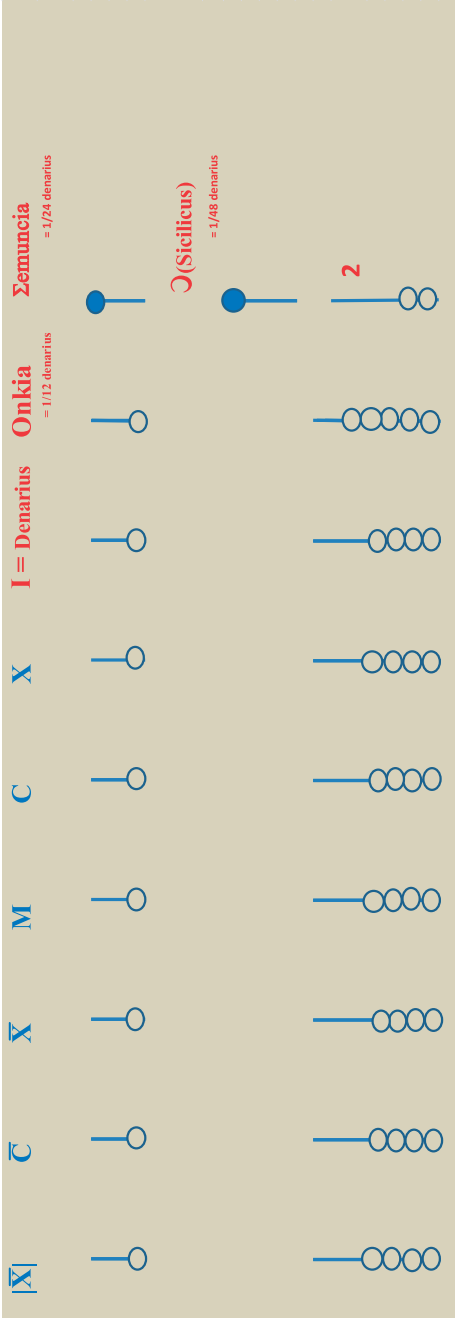


Fig. 3c: Roman Abacus: layout in the “new style” ratio denariaria and representation of aes excurrens worth 1 as (1as = denarii semuncia siciliensis)

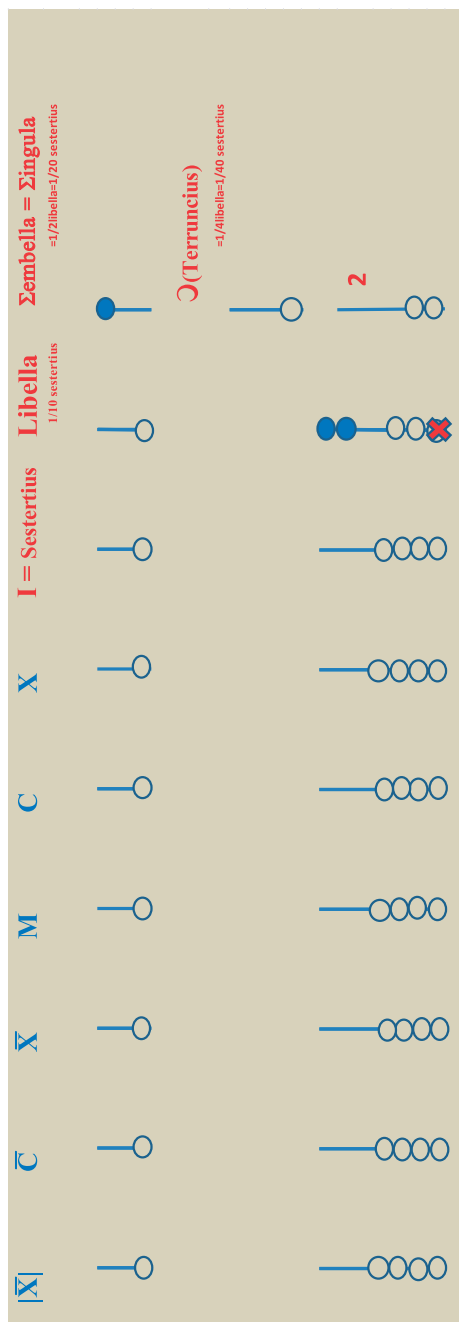





Fig. 3d: Roman *Abacus*: layout in the *ratio sesteriaria* and representation of *aes excurrens* worth 1 *as* (*1 as* = *sestertii duae libellae singula*)

In Figs. 3a-d:

-  = bead in neutral (downshifted) position
-  = bead in activated (upshifted) position
-  = blocked (unused) bead



not be represented, it is understandable that it was, in practice, denoted simply by the default term *aeris quadrans*.<sup>41</sup>

It is also noteworthy that Maecianus, in his treatment of the *ratio sestertiaria*, did not provide monetary notations for amounts smaller than the *semis*.<sup>42</sup> With reference to the above discussion, this makes sense, assuming that Maecianus apparently focused on the representation of actual money/coinage on the *abacus*. For handling virtual (booking) amounts smaller than the *semis*, the *ratio aeraria* would have been more convenient.

Again, the above findings seem to illustrate that the set-up of the *abacus* itself had a noticeable impact on the format chosen for the later monetary notations.

#### SYNOPSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper demonstrates that the Roman *abacus* (counting board) had a — nowadays barely acknowledged — functionality for handling both the common duodecimal fractions and the less common decimal fractions needed to represent *aes excurrens* (small change) in the *as*-, *sestertius*- and *denarius*-based monetary notations described in Maecianus' *Distributio Partium* (DP). The adjustments required to do so boiled down to blocking certain beads on the *abacus* and redefining some of its markings according to the application and fractions required. Evidence for this early flexibility of the *abacus* is provided by the observation that the symbols used for the decimal fractions are the same as those corresponding to certain duodecimal fractions. The reason is that fractions with the same symbol share, when represented on the Roman *abacus*, the same compartments and beads; in other words, the same place on the *abacus*, marked by the same symbols, led to a shared notation.

It is further shown that the very layout of the Roman *abacus*, which was originally designed for the early *ratio aeraria* and adapted to the 'old style' *ratio denariaria*, seems, conversely, to have largely driven the

<sup>41</sup> See *CIL* VIII 17408 = *ILS* 5474 = EDCS-13003161 (Africa Proconsularis, Annaba/Bone/Hippo Regius, time of Hadrian): this inscription features the monetary notations characteristic for the *ratio sestertiaria*, and shows that the *quadrans* was denoted as *aeris quadrans* rather than *sestertii singula/sembella dimidius-ter(r)uncius*. This inscription is discussed in more detail in Nagl (1914) 77 and De Bree (2019).

<sup>42</sup> Maecianus DP [65]

format of the monetary notations for small change in the later ‘new style’ *denarius* and *sestertius*-based accounting systems. Its layout also impacted the level of accuracy attainable in each accounting system for handling the various amounts of real and virtual (booking) money.

Over the years, it seems that the Romans basically held on to the familiar design of their *abacus*: adaptations to changing monetary and accounting conditions could be made successfully by devoting some minor — but smart<sup>43</sup> — efforts to rewriting their *aes excurrens* in terms of the fractions appropriate to any of the required accounting units. This led to some remarkable monetary notations, in which, for example, *aes excurrens* with a value of one *as* was written as *denarii semuncia sicilicus* (in the *ratio denariaria*) or *sestertii duae libellae singula* (in the *ratio sestertiaria*).

The described manipulations with fractions convincingly demonstrate that the Romans possessed ample skills in ‘basic numeracy’, defined as the consciousness of numbers and measures and the ability to perform simple numerical operations.<sup>44</sup> They must have had a solid trust in numbers within an arithmetical context. The inference is that the *abacus* was, during Roman times, a convenient vehicle in communicating basic utilitarian numeracy and long remained a fit-for-purpose computational aid, suitable for handling all relevant operations in finance, including those involving small change.

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<sup>43</sup> Maecianus in *DP* [63] remarks with pride, how ‘ingeniously’ the Romans adjusted their accounting formalism, when forced to do so in response to the change in the nominal value of the *denarius* from 10 to 16 *asses*: *Ingeniosissime autem, cum ad denarium ratio conficeretur, excurrentis aeris nota inventa est, quae sedecies multiplicata id efficeret: nam cum denarii nota praescribatur, eique subiniungatur aeris excurrentis nota, manifestum est eam sedeciens ducendam ex adnotatione denarii.*

<sup>44</sup> Note that the exploration of numeracy in ancient societies is a relatively novel subject of current research; compare, notably, Netz (2002), Cuomo (2012).

Appendix A: Roman numbers and symbols

Table A1: Roman whole numbers\*

1 000 000	500 000	100 000	50 000	10 000	5000	1000
M̄ or  X̄  or CCCC D D D D	D̄ or  V̄  or  D D D D	C̄ or  Ī  or CCCC D D D D	L̄ or  D D D	X̄ or CC D D	V̄ or  D D	M or Ī or C D
1000	500	100	50	10	5	1
M or Ī or C D	D or  D	C	L	X	V	I

\* For the origin and handling of Roman numbers and elementary Roman mathematics, see e.g. Turner (1951), Ifrah (1985), Maher & Makowski (2001).

Note the use of the following diacritical symbols:

- a *vinculum* (–) on top of the character corresponds to multiplication by 1000 = 10<sup>3</sup>
- a box (|·|) around the character corresponds to multiplication by 100 000 = 10<sup>5</sup>




Table A2: Roman decimal fractions

Multiples and fractions of the <i>libella</i> (N times 1/10)			
N	name	fraction	symbol*
5	<i>semis</i>	1/2 = 5/10	S
1	<i>libella</i>	1/10	–
1/2	<i>singula</i> = <i>sembella</i> (or <i>simbella</i> )	1/20	Σ
1/4	<i>ter(r)uncius</i>	1/40	T
1/8	<i>dimidius ter(r)uncius</i>	1/80	no dedicated symbol

\* Note that the symbols shown here (Maecianus *DP*) for the decimal fractions correspond to the symbols used for those duodecimal fractions that would share the same compartments on the standard Roman *abacus*.

Table A3: Roman duodecimal fractions\*

Multiples of the <i>uncia</i> : N times 1/12				Multiples of the <i>semisextula</i> : N times (1/12) <sup>2</sup>			Multiples of the <i>siliqua</i> : N times (1/12) <sup>3</sup>		
N	name	fraction	symbol	name	fraction	symbol	name	fraction	symbol
12	<i>as</i> = 12 unciae	12/12	I, A	<i>uncia</i> = 4 <i>sicilici</i> = 24 <i>scripula</i>	1/12	• or —	<i>semi-sextula</i> = <i>dimidia sextula</i> = <i>hemisescla</i> = <i>semissis</i>	1/144	𐌺 or 𐌸 or 𐌹
11	<i>deunx</i> = <i>iabus</i>	11/12	S••••• or S = —						
10	<i>de(se)xtans</i> = <i>decunx</i>	5/6	S•••• or S = =						
9	<i>dodrans</i> = <i>nonuncium</i>	3/4	S••• or S = —	<i>sesqui- seuncia</i>	1/16 = 1/24 + 1/48	Σ ɔ	<i>sesqui-scripulum</i>	1/192 = 1/288 + 1/576	
8	<i>bes(sis)</i>	2/3	S•• or S =		1/18 = 1/24 + 1/72	Σ ɔ	<i>tremissis</i>	1/216 = 1/288 + 1/864	𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌺
7	<i>septunx</i>	7/12	S• or S —						
6	<i>semis</i> < <i>semi-as</i>	1/2	S	<i>seuncia</i>	1/24	Σ or ∟ or ʃ or ε	<i>scrip(t)ulum</i> = <i>scripulus</i> = <i>gramma</i> = 6 <i>siliquae</i>	1/288	𐌹𐌺 or 𐌹
5	<i>quincunx</i>	5/12	••••• or = = —						

4	<i>triens</i>	1/3	•••• or = or Z	<i>duella</i> = <i>binæ/duæ</i> <i>sextulæ</i>	1/36	22 or 22 or \\\	<i>dimidius tremissis</i>	1/432	
3	<i>quadrans</i> = <i>terruncius</i>	1/4	••• or = —	<i>sicilicus</i> = 6 <i>scripula</i>	1/48	3 or 7	<i>dimidium scriptulum</i> = <i>simplium</i> (= <i>obolus</i> ** = 8 <i>chalci</i> )	1/576	
2	<i>sextans</i>	1/6	•• or = or Z	<i>sextula</i> = <i>sescla</i> = <i>solidus</i>	1/72	3 or 2 or \ or C	<i>duæ siliquæ</i>	1/864	>>>>
3/2	<i>octans</i> = <i>octava (pars)</i> = <i>sestuncia</i> = <i>sestuncx</i> =< <i>sesquincia</i>	1/8 = 1/12 + 1/24 = 1½ x 1/12	Σ • or Σ – or L • or L – or £	<i>semi-sicilicus</i> = <i>(h)oleæ</i> (ὀλεῖ) (= <i>drachma</i> = 6 <i>oboli</i> **)	1/96 = 1/144 + 1/288 = 1½ x 1/144		<i>sesqui-siliqua</i> = <i>cerates</i> = <i>ceratus</i> (= <i>semi-obolus</i> **)	1/1152 = 1½ x 1/1728	
4/3	<i>nona (pars)</i> = <i>uncia duella</i> = <i>uncia duæ</i> <i>sextulæ</i>	1/9 = 1/12 + 1/36	— 22 or — \\\		1/108 = 1/144 + 1/432				
1	<i>uncia</i>	1/12	• or —	<i>semi-sextula</i> = <i>dimidia</i> <i>sextula</i> = <i>hemisescla</i> = <i>semissis</i>	1/144	 or  (i.e. with horizontal bar)	<i>siliqua</i> = <i>ceratium</i>	1/1728	>>

\* Compare e.g. Friedlein (1869)

\*\* The *drachma*, *obolus* and *chalcus* indicated in this table strictly refer to certain late Roman weights (see Remmius Favinus [1-55]), i.e. *drachma* = 6 *oboli* = 48 *chalci* = 3.41 g. These are not to be confused with the Greek (Attic) weights 1 δραχμή = 6 ὀβολοί = 48 χαλκοί = 4.37 g

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## THE ELECTION OF CENTURIONS DURING THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD\*

*Abstract:* This article argues that during the Republican period, Roman soldiers elected their own centurions, based on a confluence of literary, philological, and epigraphic evidence. The practice of elective officer-ship has significant implications for our understanding of Roman military leadership and the dynamics of the Republican-era army. The election of centurions is also relevant in the ongoing discussion about the broader political culture of the Roman Republic, as the rank represented an important elective office available to citizens outside of the aristocratic political class.

During the Roman Republic the most prominent state institution was unquestionably the army.<sup>1</sup> Even as it developed into an increasingly sophisticated expeditionary force by the Middle Republic (c. 300-100 BC), the Roman army remained a citizens' militia manned through mass conscription.<sup>2</sup> We therefore cannot fully understand the political dynamics of the Roman Republic — a complex interplay between an aristocratic political class and common citizens who voted to elect magistrates, pass laws and judge cases — without examining the army itself.<sup>3</sup> This article explores a critical intersection between the political rights of Roman citizenship and the heavy military obligations that came with it, namely the election of centurions by the citizen-soldiers themselves at the annual levy (*dilectus*).

The strong linkage between political and military participation can be traced back to the Early Republican period (c. 509-300 BC). The noun *populus* is related to the verb *populari*, “to ravage” (i.e. with armed force), suggesting that the *populus Romanus* was initially defined as citizens under arms.<sup>4</sup> The Latin term for voting, *suffragium*, may have its etymological

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<sup>1</sup> Eich and Eich (2005).

<sup>2</sup> For overviews of the Roman army in the Republican period, see Keppie (1984) 11-103, Sekunda (1996), Lendon (2004) 172-232, Erdkamp (2006), Rawlings (2007), Hoyos (2007), Cagniat (2007) and Potter (2014).

<sup>3</sup> Nicolet (1980) 89-128 remains the most thorough consideration of military service as an aspect of Roman citizenship.

<sup>4</sup> De Vaan (2008) 480.

origins in the clash of weapons to signal assent.<sup>5</sup> The *comitia centuriata*, the voting assembly that elected consuls, praetors and censors, originated as an army assembly, meeting outside of the *pomerium* on the Campus Martius, and not voting until, in a bit of archaic ritual, a flag was raised on the Janiculum to signal that it was safe for the “army” to begin its deliberations.<sup>6</sup> By the Middle Republic, however, the *comitia centuriata* emerged as the most timocratic of Roman voting institutions, heavily weighted towards the wealthy, and assigning half of the voting centuries to *seniores*, men too old for active service.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, as a result of tactical changes during the fourth century BC, the voting centuries of the *comitia centuriata* bore little resemblance to the fighting centuries of the new manipular legion.<sup>8</sup>

In the Middle Republic, a centurion commanded a century (*centuria*) of between 60-80 men (the centuries of the rear-rank *triarii* contained only 30 men). There were sixty centurions in a legion of 4200-5200 infantrymen. Paired centuries formed a manipule of 120-160 men, commanded by the senior centurion of the two (more on this below). In battle, Roman infantry did not array as a single massed formation, but rather maniples fought as discreet units, articulated into three lines (*triplex acies*) parsed by age (from junior to senior, the *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*) and separated from one another by modest gaps so as to form a rough checkerboard pattern.<sup>9</sup> The flexible and modular nature of Roman infantry tactics placed great reliance on centurions’ steadfastness and initiative.

Evidence for the practice of elected centurions during the Republic comes from (1) literary evidence in Polybius and Appian, (2) the philological correspondence between centurions’ ranks within a legion and seniority within colleges of elected magistrates as determined by order of popular election, and (3) epigraphic references from the early Imperial period referring to elected centurions, who represent the occasional survival of Republican practice. The paper concludes by discussing the ramifications of elected centurions on the Roman army

<sup>5</sup> Vaathera (1990).

<sup>6</sup> Cass. Dio. 37.27.3-28.3; Gell. NA 15.27.5.

<sup>7</sup> Taylor (1966) 84-106.

<sup>8</sup> See Stemmler (2000) for the divergence between voting centuries and fighting centuries in the early Republic. Livy 8.8 depicts recognizable manipular structures in a battle set in 340 BC, with subsequent attestation of manipular tactics during the Pyrrhic Wars: Plut. Pyr. 21.6 (flexible tactics compared to phalanx) and Dion. Hal. 20.11 (*principes*).

<sup>9</sup> On Roman battle in the Middle Republic, see Sabin (2000) and Taylor (2014).

as both a military institution and community, while noting the relevance of the practice to the broader debate about the political character of the Roman Republic.

#### LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR ELECTED CENTURIONS

Our most important surviving source for the Roman army in the Middle Republic is Polybius, a Greek statesman and soldier, who wrote as a hostage in Rome starting in 167 BC. Polybius was an eyewitness to the Roman army in action, and had many veterans among his oral informants, including his close friend Scipio Aemilianus.<sup>10</sup> Polybius also seems to have utilized a handbook for military tribunes explaining how to conduct the levy, build a camp, and administer affairs.<sup>11</sup> During the annual levy, Polybius (6.24.1-2; after Paton) reports that:

ἐξ ἐκάστου δὲ τῶν προειρημένων γενῶν πλὴν τῶν νεωτάτων ἐξέλεξαν  
ταξιάρχους ἀριστίνδην δέκα. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτέραν ἐκλογὴν ἄλλων  
δέκα ποιοῦνται. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας προσηγόρευσαν ταξιάρχους,  
ὧν ὁ πρῶτος αἰρεθεὶς καὶ συνεδρίου κοινωνεῖ.

From each of the classes except the youngest they choose ten centurions according to excellence, and then they choose another ten. All these are called centurions, and the first man chosen has a seat in the military council.

At the same time, Roman cavalrymen selected three decurions from each squadron (*turma*) of thirty riders, with the first chosen (πρῶτος αἰρεθεὶς) similarly commanding the entire unit (Polyb. 6.25.1-3). Sadly, Polybius does not make it clear what ἐξέλεξαν means. The Greek could connote either direct appointment by a superior official, or popular election (like-wise the verb προκρίνω, which Polybius uses to describe the selection of cavalry decurions). Indeed, later Polybius describes how the centurions, once chosen, themselves appoint (ἐξέλεξαν) a second-in-command (*optio*) as well as a standard-bearer. Nor does Polybius specify the verb's third person-plural subject. The most recent group mentioned in his text is indeed the soldiers themselves (the *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*),

<sup>10</sup> Polybius and the Third Macedonian War: Polyb. 28.13; participant observer in Third Punic War: Polyb. 38.19; Amm. Marc. 24.2.16. Close friendship with Scipio Aemilianus: Polyb. 31.23-25.

<sup>11</sup> Rawson (1971) 14-16.

although though the most frequent plural subjects in Polybius' extended discussion of Roman military practice are the military tribunes busy conducting the levy.

Evelyn Shuckburgh supplied the three legionary divisions as the grammatical subject in his translation: "The *Principes*, *Hastati*, and *Triarii* each elect ten centurions according to merit, and then a second ten each."<sup>12</sup> William Paton's Loeb Classical Library translation renders ἐξελέξαν as "they elect," although like Polybius he declined to specify the subject.<sup>13</sup> David Potter has more recently asserted with confidence that soldiers in the Middle Republic were elected, although relying only on the authority of this contested passage of Polybius.<sup>14</sup>

Both Theodor Mommsen and Frank Walbank believed that the military tribunes selected the centurions through direct appointment.<sup>15</sup> Their august opinions are not to be dismissed lightly. Polybius does not use his usual term to connote election in Roman assemblies, namely καθίστημι. Still, the use of ἐξελέξαν throughout Polybius's description of the levy in Book Six may owe to the linguistic gravity of the Latin cognate *legere* — "to choose" — which stands at the heart of the Roman concept of *dilectus*, a *lectio* (selection, in the same spirit as "selective service") that produced a *legio* (a legion being a body of picked men).<sup>16</sup> In the Imperial period, the historian Tacitus described some rogue centurions who were unquestionably elected by popular vote of the soldiers as *suffragio... delecti* "selected... by a vote" (Tac. *Hist.* 3.49.8; more below).

When a detachment of Romans and Italian soldiers stationed in Spain mutinied in 206 BC, they hastily organized their own military community, with the election of centurions proving a top priority. Upon driving out their military tribunes, the mutineers στρατηγούς δ' ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐλόμενοι καὶ ταξιάρχους, καὶ τᾶλλα διακοσμηθέντες, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ συνώμνουν ἀλλήλοις "elected generals and centurions from their own number, arranged affairs, organized themselves, and swore an oath

<sup>12</sup> Shuckburgh (1889) 478.

<sup>13</sup> Paton (1925) 323.

<sup>14</sup> Potter (2010) 321; Potter (2011) 519. Breeze (2016) 20, likewise agrees that the soldiers elected their centurions, but suggests that the consuls had some role in assigning seniority.

<sup>15</sup> Mommsen (1887) 120; Walbank (1957) 706.

<sup>16</sup> De Vaan (2008) 332. While ancient etymologies were often spurious, Isid. *Orig.* 9.3.46 is probably correct here.

to one another” (App. *Ib.* 34).<sup>17</sup> This is an irregular moment to be sure, but what is notable is how throughout the mutineers aped Roman procedure, both in the election of generals, who then assumed the *fascēs*, and in the swearing of the military oath (cf. Livy 28.24). There is every reason to believe that in electing their own centurions, the mutineers also recapitulated standard Roman practice.

#### ORDER OF ELECTION AND CENTURION RANK

There are strong philological parallels to how the elected magistrates in Rome were ranked and how the ranks of centurions were ordered. In colleges of elected Roman magistrates (consuls, praetors, tribunes of the plebs, aediles, etc.), rank was determined by the order of election, so that the first elected magistrate at times enjoyed special privileges or prerogatives. The *lex de provinciis praetoriis* of 101 BC, which survives from Greek copies, refers to the ὑπατος ὁ πρῶτος γενόμενος (“the first consul”), which Michael Crawford suggests represents a translation of the Latin phrase *consul qui prior factus*.<sup>18</sup> The first-century BC jurist Lucius Caesar noted that the *maior consul* could refer to *eum qui prior factus* “he who was elected first” (Festus 154L). Cicero (*Pis.* 1.3) was naturally pleased when he was elected *prior consul*.

Moving down the *cursus honorum*, Cicero refers to *qui primus sit praetor factus* “whoever shall be the first-elected praetor”, as well as *qui postremus sit* “he who shall be elected afterwards” (Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2.28). The reformer Gaius Gracchus hoped to be elected tribune of the plebs πρῶτος and was disappointed to come in fourth place (Plut. *Cai. Gracch.* 3.2). Polybius (6.19.7) reports that military tribunes were assigned to the consular legions καθάπερ ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατασταθῶσιν, “according to the order in which they were elected by the people.”<sup>19</sup> Young Julius Caesar sought and obtained the electoral prize of winning the military

<sup>17</sup> On the Sucri mutiny, see Chrissanthos (1997). Appian hews closely to the surviving portions of Polybius’ narrative, and may here provide information taken from what is now a lacuna in Polybius’ text. Livy 28.24.13 only mentions the election of generals by unanimous consent (*omnium consensus*), but confirms the basic vision of mutineers self-organizing as reported from Appian, likely also derived from the lost passage of Polybius.

<sup>18</sup> Cnidos Copy, 3.28; Crawford (1996) 231-270.

<sup>19</sup> Polybius also notes here that tribunes could also be appointed by the consuls, presumably referring to legions raised outside of the annual levy.

tribuneship πρότερος, the first military tribune elected out of the college of twenty-four (Plut. *Caes.* 5.1). Cicero was proud that he had come in first place his entire career, bragging about *me cum quaestorem in primis, aedilem priorem, praetorem primum cunctis suffragiis populus Romanus faciebat* “when the Roman people made me the quaestor in the first round, the first aedile, and the first praetor through their combined votes” (Cic. *Pis.* 1.2). When the censors in 216 BC replenished Roman senate depleted by the slaughter of the Second Punic War, they arranged the rolls of ex-magistrates “according to which of them had been elected first” (*primus creatus*; Livy 23.23.5). While the *princeps senatus* became an appointed honor after 209 BC, it was until that point given to “whoever was the censor first” (*primus censor*), that is the earliest elected ex-censor in the senate (Livy 27.11.10).<sup>20</sup>

Above, Polybius notes that the order of selection determined the rank of the centurion, so that ὁ πρῶτος αἰρεθείς (“the first chosen”) received a seat on the general’s military council, describing what the Romans called the *primus pilus* centurion. Likewise, of the three cavalry decurions chosen for each *turma*, it is the πρῶτος αἰρεθείς who commanded the entire unit. Every maniple in the Roman army was comprised of two centuries, which deployed abreast in combat. Polybius (6.24.8) later reports that παρόντων μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρων ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αἰρεθείς ἡγείται τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τῆς σπείρας, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῶν εὐωνύμων ἀνδρῶν τῆς σημαίας ἔχει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν “when both centurions are present, the first chosen commands the right half of the maniple and the second chosen commands the century on the left.” In Roman usage, the first chosen was the *prior*, while the second chosen was the *posterior*.<sup>21</sup> The maniples in each division were themselves then numbered one through ten, with ascending seniority of centurions in each from the tenth to the first maniple: Thus, the senior centurion of the *triarii*, in archaic usage the *pilani* (Varro, *Ling.* 5.89), was the *primus pilus prior* (usually simply the *primus pilus*), the senior centurion in the entire legion.<sup>22</sup> The Romans therefore spoke and thought about the rank and precedence of

<sup>20</sup> Ryan (1997) 227.

<sup>21</sup> Evidence for centurion titles comes from the Late Republic and Early Empire, but the terminology is conservative, referring to by then defunct aspects of Middle Republican military organization, in particular the *triplex acies* of heavy infantry. See Parker (1926) 45-52 and Goldsworthy (1996) 14.

<sup>22</sup> *Primus hastatus*, *princeps*, and *pilus*: Livy 42.34.7-8.



centurions in an almost identical fashion as they did about elected magistrates, as illustrated in the table below:

Table 1: Philological parallels between centurion titles and precedence titles based on election order for Roman magistrates (all cited above)

Centurion Ranks	Elected Magistrate Rank/Precedence
<i>prior</i>	<i>consul prior factus</i> <i>aedile prior</i>
<i>posterior</i>	<i>praetor postremus</i>
<i>primus pilus</i>	<i>primus censor</i>
<i>primus princeps</i>	<i>primus creatus</i>
<i>primus hastatus</i>	<i>primus praetor</i> <i>quaestor in primis</i>
ὁ πρῶτος αἰρεθείς	ὑπατος ὁ πρῶτος πρῶτος (tribune of the plebs) χιλίαρχος πρότερος

#### ELECTION AND APPOINTMENT: THE CASE OF SPURIUS LIGUSTINUS

We have only one passage describing the selection of centurions at the levy in Rome, when Livy describes the *dilectus* on the eve of the Third Macedonian War in 171 BC. In the process, we are given the only detailed career of a Middle Republican centurion, Spurius Ligustinus. In this section, I argue that the regular procedure for appointing centurions, which Ligustinus and his comrades sought to override, was an election supervised by the military tribunes. Secondly, Spurius' own career reveals an alternate route to the rank, namely battlefield commissions issued by the commanding general.

During the levy of 171 BC, Livy reports a highly irregular scenario, as twenty-three failed candidates for senior centurion postings appealed to the tribunes of the plebs to overturn the ordinary procedure. Sadly, the sole manuscript (Vienna) is corrupt at this point, as it is in so many other places. The text reads (Livy 42.32.7):

cum tribuni militum †qui centuriones sed† primum quemque citarent,  
tres et viginti centuriones, qui primos pilos duxerant, citati tribunos  
plebis appellarunt.

When the military tribunes, who \*\* centurions, promoted whomever came in first, then twenty-three centurions, who had served as *primi pili*, promoted their case before the tribunes of the plebs.<sup>23</sup>

Several emendations have been suggested, although I believe that Müller comes closest to the correct meaning of the passage, in positing that the text read *tribuni militum, qui centuriones <scribebant>* “When the military tribunes, who <enrolled> centurions...”, indicating that the military tribunes supervised the selection of centurions as they did the entire process of legionary enrollment.<sup>24</sup> I would be so bold as to suggest the conjectural emendation of *cum tribuni militum, qui centuriones <creabant>*, *primum quemque citarent* in the sense that the official supervising popular elections was said to “create” the successful candidates (e.g. Livy 25.2.3: *dictator primo comitali die creavit consules* “the dictator supervised the election of the consuls on the first day of voting”).<sup>25</sup>

Regardless, the key philological point from the surviving text is that the military tribunes in fact advanced *primum quemque*. As discussed above, in a magisterial election the criterion for becoming *primus* was being *prior*, that is a candidate elected first ahead of one’s peers. Thus, while the military tribunes supervised the process, the phrase *primum quemque* strongly suggests that we are again dealing with an election, in which the first chosen candidate is assigned to the highest office by the military tribunes overseeing the poll.

The fact that there were so many dissatisfied failed candidates suggests that men who had previously served as centurions expected to serve at a similar rank. This in itself is not surprising. Indeed, in an elective system, one would imagine that a man who had previously served as centurion might expect to obtain the office again at a similar or higher rank. What made the process of 171 BC so crowded was the fact that in that year special efforts were made to recruit veterans for service in Macedonia, which resulted in a glut of senior ex-centurions who were angry when they did not get the top job. In the assembly that followed, the ex-centurions’ spokesman, Spurius Ligustinus, gave a rousing speech in which he recounted his splendid career,

<sup>23</sup> Note the neat rhetorical chiasm in the sentence: (military) tribunes → *primum citarent* / *primi pili citati* → tribunes (of the plebs).

<sup>24</sup> Briscoe (2012) 258-259. Other suggested emendations include (compiled by Briscoe): Madvig, *qui centuriones <essent>* and Allen, *centuriones <non omnes sed>*, neither of which is satisfactory.

<sup>25</sup> This suggestion would require that *sed* must be excised as corrupt. I suspect *sed* is an interpolation by a perplexed later scribe seeking to differentiate military tribunes and centurions in an already corrupted sentence.

and then sagaciously withdrew his appeal, saying he would proudly serve at any rank. After he was praised by the consul and thanked by the senate, the military tribunes enrolled him as *primus pilus* of the first consular legion.

This was not standard procedure, but 171 BC was an unusual year. Shortly before the levy, a special law had been passed permitting the military tribunes themselves to be appointed by the consuls for the consular legions, rather than elected by the people, as was custom.<sup>26</sup> While the tribunes seem to have been interested in assigning centurions in the customary manner, they ultimately succumbed to pressure from the consul, the senate, the tribunes of the plebs, and indeed, the assembled Roman people (*populus in contionem aduocatus*) to appoint Ligustinus contrary to the results of the soldiers' vote.

Ligustinus' speech represents a unique piece of information for the career of a Middle Republican centurion, and as such its authenticity is impossible to confirm.<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, his biography is not simply a Late Annalist's retrojection of a standard Late Republican or Augustan centurion's career. Ligustinus' career is firmly rooted in the age-class divisions of the Middle Republican manipular legion, as he became a centurion in the *hastati* in his third year of service, barely more experienced than the soldiers he led.<sup>28</sup> While he served for many years, his service was discontinuous, twenty-two years over perhaps thirty-four (he was 51 years old), in keeping with the pulse of demobilization and reenrollment that defined militia service. Whatever Livy's source, there is no sound reason to think that the basic outlines are outright fabrications.<sup>29</sup> It is entirely possible that Livy's source could have partially reconstructed Ligustinus' career from surviving military or census records (note references to a wife, children, and plot of land, all items easily recoverable from a census entry).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Livy 42.31.5. On the appointment, rather than election of military tribunes in 171 BC and beyond, see Linderski (1990) 58-60.

<sup>27</sup> Cadiou (2002) 76-90. For general commentary on the speech, see Briscoe (2012) 262-266.

<sup>28</sup> Polyb. 6.21.7-8.

<sup>29</sup> Fantham (2005) 219 suggests that Livy's source for the speech was Cato the Censor, in the closing books of his *Origines*. However, Cato famously abstained from referring to Roman officials by their names (Nep. *Cato* 3.4; Plin. *HN* 8.11), while Ligustinus' speech drops names without embarrassment.

<sup>30</sup> Tribal affiliation, wives, children, and land in census declarations: Dion. Hal. 4.15.6; Gel. *NA* 4.20.3; Cic. *Leg.* 3.7). Military service recorded in census records implied at Livy 24.18.7. On the authenticity of the basic outlines of Ligustinus' biography, Brunt (1971) 395; Keppie (1984) 55. Briscoe (2012) 262-266 is more skeptical of the authenticity of the biographical sketch.

Notably, the speech focuses on three instances where he was appointed (*adsignatus*) as a centurion directly by a consul, having been first commissioned from the ranks by Titus Flamininus (consul of 198 BC), and subsequently promoted by Cato the Elder (consul of 195 BC) and Acilius Glabrio (consul of 191 BC). Spurius' career encapsulates an important point, namely that the election of centurions only took place during the *dilectus* in Rome. The commanding general filled subsequent vacancies through battlefield commissions.<sup>31</sup> This would replicate the dynamic of military tribunes, in that twenty-four tribunes were elected annually for the consular legions, but tribunes for additional legions were appointed by the commanding magistrate or pro-magistrate (Polyb. 6.12.6). At maximum, two hundred and forty centurions would be elected in during the levy that raised four consular legions. In some years, when standing legions were retained, that number may have been lower. A centurion serving multiple stints in the office would in all likelihood have been selected through both election and appointment, and no doubt an appointed centurion would have an excellent chance of being subsequently elected, and vice versa.

#### IMPERIAL SURVIVALS

The practice of electing centurions seems to have been in decline by the first century BC. This would owe in large part to the fact that most legions after the Social War (91-88 BC) were recruited outside the civic levy in Rome, and so were likely staffed with centurions appointed by commanders, rather than elected by the troops in the context of the civic levy.<sup>32</sup> In many ways, Spurius Ligustinus and his fellow centurions were harbingers, as extensive military deployments in the second century produced a cadre of proto-professional centurions.<sup>33</sup> Such men in 171 BC felt that they deserved a position due to lengthy experience, the results of the election notwithstanding. It is easy to see how such a class would have little complaint if direct commissions from the commanding general replaced the vagaries of election.

Furthermore, as the Republic spiraled into an era of military dynasts and endemic civil war in the first century BC, powerful commanders used

<sup>31</sup> Potter (2010) 321-322.

<sup>32</sup> Potter (2010) 319-321.

<sup>33</sup> De Blois (2000) 11-12.

their authority to give battlefield commissions to hand-pick their entire centurion corps. When Pompey as a young man raised three legions during the civil war of 82-81 BC, he personally appointed every military tribune and centurion, ensuring these men owed their position to him alone (Plut. *Pomp.* 6.3). In the notorious corruption of the period, the centurion's commission was also converted into yet another opportunity for graft, as Cicero twice condemned the practice of selling centurions' commissions (*Pis.* 88; *Leg. Man.* 37). Still, despite the twin pressures of waxing professionalism and rising authoritarianism, the elected centurion never went fully extinct even with the destruction of the free Republic: elected centurions in fact are still evident into the Imperial period.<sup>34</sup>

In a monarchic society driven by top-down patronage, it would be quite shocking if recourse to popular election represented a spontaneous innovation, rather than a Republican throwback. This was an era, after all, during which Pliny the Younger procured a centurion's commission for a client with no prior military experience, and then lavished him with 40,000 sesterces in order to equip himself as a soldier.<sup>35</sup> The occasional election of centurions in the Imperial period was rather like a living fossil, the rare survival of a political phenomenon once far more common in the past.

During the civil war of AD 69, Vespasian's legate Antonius Primus offered a legion the right to elect their own centurions from the ranks as a reward for its loyalty and performance. Tacitus, as a high-ranking senator, was horrified by the incident (*Hist.* 3.49.7-9, noted above), which for him embodied the licentiousness that arises from civil war, as in his opinion *eo suffragio turbidissimus quisque delecti* "the most disruptive were selected through this vote."

Yet this was not an isolated incident. Imperial inscriptions suggest that some centurions, a distinct minority to be sure, were still elected by the ranks. Thus in the first century AD, one Petronius Fortunatus was (*centurio*) *factus ex suffragio leg[ionis]* "elected centurion by the vote of the legion."<sup>36</sup> In Upper Pannonia, T. Flavius Domitius Valerianus referred to himself as *centurio legionarius factus at suffragium leg[ionis]*, seemingly grasping at the same formula.<sup>37</sup> A centurion at Bu Njem, in North Africa, fulfilled a religious vow owed for obtaining a promotion *ex fortia et*

<sup>34</sup> Potter (2010) 309-325.

<sup>35</sup> Pliny 6.25.2; cf. 10.87. See Goldsworthy (1996) 31-32 for discussion.

<sup>36</sup> *ILS* 2568 / *CIL* VIII 217; Watson (1969) 87-88.

<sup>37</sup> *AE* 1976, 540; see Reynolds (1981) 132 and Faure (2007) for further discussion.

*suff[ragio] vex[illationis]* “owing to brave deeds and the vote of his detachment.”<sup>38</sup> It is unclear under what circumstances senior officers allowed the election of these centurions. Michael Speidel hypothesized that the right to elect a centurion in Imperial times might be given to a unit as a reward for good performance, but also suggested the possibility that some sort of polling may have preceded many promotions from the ranks, particularly after the centurion was given a trial run commanding an outpost or detachment. If correct, it would suggest that the old practices of the citizen soldiers from the Republican period could still prove useful in the professional context of the Imperial army. At the very least, the epigraphic record of the early empire captures a linguistic turn of phrase harkening to the sort of popular practice described in the Middle Republic by Polybius.

#### ELECTIVE OFFICERSHIP

Elected centurions did not stand out from the rest of the chain-of-command of a Roman army. A Roman army was commanded by an elected magistrate or pro-magistrate whose command had been extended.<sup>39</sup> The army’s quartermaster, the quaestor, was an elected magistrate. The twenty-four military tribunes for the four consular legions were elected by the people in Rome. Amongst the *socii*, elected magistrates from Italian communities served as cohort commanders of hometown contingents.<sup>40</sup>

Of course, all of these positions were elected by the people at large, mostly voters who would not subsequently serve under the candidates they elected. Centurions were elected by the same men whom they would discipline in camp and command in battle. The election of officers by their own soldiers carried with it military risks: chiefly that those chosen

<sup>38</sup> Speidel (1992) 124-129.

<sup>39</sup> On the occasional role of popular votes in extending magistrates and assigning commands, see now Day (2017), who suggests the people were primarily brought in as tie-breakers in moments of senatorial disagreement.

<sup>40</sup> Italian magistrates commanding hometown cohorts: Livy 9.16.17; 23.17-19 (both praetors from Praeneste); cf. *CIL* I 1448 for *praitores* from Cora making a dedication from war booty. In Caesarian times, the *Lex Ursonis* no. 103 specifies the military functions of the colonial duumvirs, who either commanded the local levy in person or appointed a prefect in their place. These Italian cohort commanders differed from the *praefecti socio-rum*, Roman citizens appointed by the consul who served a function analogous to the military tribunes in the legions (Polyb. 6.26.5).

might feel directly beholden to their troops for their position, and therefore fail as disciplinarians or even hesitate to make necessary decisions that endangered the bodily safety of their troops.<sup>41</sup> There was the related risk that election might return officers good at politicking but ill-suited for command.<sup>42</sup>

The Roman system took steps to mitigate both potential problems. Firstly, individual centuries did not elect their centurions directly from their own number. Rather, each of the three infantry *acies* (*hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*), elected twenty centurions at large, and these centurions subsequently organized the recruits for each line into centuries (Polyb. 6.20.1-7). Roman elections always required voters to vote as units, and since the yet-to-be-organized centuries were not the voting unit selecting centurions, the recruits as voters were most likely parsed into their voting tribe. After all, citizens were drafted into the legion by tribal affiliation in the first place (Polyb. 6.20.1-5). The rank and file in each century therefore knew that their centurion had been elected by the overall vote of their comrades, but there was no sense that the centurion was directly beholden to his immediate subordinates in the unit he now commanded. Polybius suggests that the election of cavalry decurions was in fact quite different. Here the cavalrymen were first divided up into squadrons of thirty, and then each squadron elected three decurions directly from among their own number. This procedure must reflect in part the elite status of cavalrymen, who could be expected to follow officers directly elected by their *turma*, rather than one elected by their division-at-large.

Secondly, the rawest recruits in the Roman army were excluded from voting for their own centurions. The youngest and most inexperienced soldiers in the Roman legion, the teenaged *velites* did not have units or centurions at all. Instead, they fought as individual skirmishers in front of the three heavy infantry lines. By the time a young man transitioned to the *hastati*, the first infantry line with centurions, he had already served

<sup>41</sup> “The very reason that, in most volunteer regiments, the officers have so little control over their men, is because they owe their places to them.” So lamented Robert Gould Shaw, future Colonel of the 54th Massachusetts, on elected junior officers in Union regiments during the early years of the American Civil War. Collected in Duncan (1999) 126. See Bledsoe (2015) for discussion of elected officers during the U.S. Civil War.

<sup>42</sup> Similarly, Robert E. Lee complained about elected officers in Confederate regiments: “It would be safe to trust men of the intelligence and character of our volunteers to elect their officers, could they at the time of election realize their dependent condition in the day of battle. But this they cannot do, and I have known them in the hour of danger repudiate and disown officers of their choice and beg for others.” Collected in Scott (1882) 350.

in several campaigns.<sup>43</sup> The *principes* and *triarii* would have been even more experienced. Roman soldiers would have therefore possessed a strong sense of what qualities to look for in a good centurion, and to judge candidates accordingly. According to Polybius (6.24.9), the Romans “do not want centurions to be reckless and danger loving, but steady leaders with deep resolve.”

A Roman legion in the Middle Republic was a hastily formed community that was expected to execute critical tasks on short notice with minimal training. In the third and second centuries BC, the Romans did not maintain legions as standing units with extended corporate identities, akin to modern formations such as the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division or the U.K. Coldstream Guards. Rather, new legions were formed afresh at the start of a campaign and then disbanded when the campaign was over, so that most legions only existed as military communities for a few years at most.<sup>44</sup> As such, Roman legions needed mechanisms to quickly build trust and solidarity. As Harriet Flower has noted in examining Roman elections at large, properly structured elections can serve as consensus rituals that provide participants with the sense that their input was taken seriously even if their candidate loses. This is particularly true when voting is iterative, with each round of balloting bringing the group closer to consensus. Flower takes papal elections as the exemplar of an election that generates consensus, at least amongst the participating Cardinals, through the process of iterative voting.<sup>45</sup> Note here the iterative nature in the selection of centurions with the *priores* centurions elected in the first round, and the *posteriores* in the second round, so that many of the candidates who did not make the cut in the first round of voting, despite some support, might still obtain the office, albeit with less rank, in the second. The act of voting therefore not only selected leaders, but also served as one of the first communal acts of the new legion as a community.

The bottom up input of soldiers may have ameliorated the theoretically harsh discipline of the Roman army. Roman generals might kill or flog any soldier for any reason, without appeal. Military tribunes could order a soldier convicted of various petty crimes, ranging from theft to sexual

<sup>43</sup> Anders (2015) suggests that one aspect of service in the *velites* was to provide training and combat experience to young soldiers before they joined the heavy infantry line.

<sup>44</sup> This would be in sharp contrast to Imperial-era troops, who served for extended period in standing units, and certainly did form coherent military communities; see MacMullen (1984) and the contributions in Goldsworthy & Hayes (1999).

<sup>45</sup> Flower (2014).



misconduct, to be clubbed to death by his peers (Polyb. 6.37). The centurion's grapevine stick (*vitis*) was a badge of office, but also a practical tool of corporal punishment.<sup>46</sup> Election was one way in which soldiers could moderate the violent potential of those placed above them. While we lack information about the behavior of Republican centurions, there certainly is evidence that elected Roman magistrates allowed political consideration to influence their conduct towards the citizen soldiers under their command. Plutarch (*Aem.* 3.6) described Roman commanders who “played the populist (δημαγωγῶν)... keeping a second command in mind during the first by courting favors and maintaining a mild disposition with those in the ranks.” Plutarch notes elsewhere (*Cai. Gracch.* 2.3) that Gaius Gracchus when serving as a quaestor accomplished his quartermaster duties with such alacrity that his political opponents perceived his care and feeding of Roman citizen-soldiers to be “a prelude to populism” (δημαγωγίας προάγωνες). Cornelius Sulla, also as quaestor, devoted himself to cultivating the troops, “speaking with the humblest of soldiers both in jest and seriously, and mingling with them on work-details, during the march, and at sentry-posts” (Sall. *Iug.* 96.2).<sup>47</sup>

An exceptional incident from the Imperial period suggest that at the very least Roman soldiers wished to have a vote on the conduct of their centurions as disciplinarians, and points to how an election might provide an opportunity to expose centurions with reputations for cruelty or misconduct. In AD 14, an extraordinary public hearing took place after the mutiny on the Rhine, in which the records of each centurion were reviewed. Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.44) reported that *si tribuni, si legio industriam innocentiamque ad probaverant, retinebat ordinem: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, solvebatur militia* “if the tribunes and the legion attested to his energy and blamelessness, he retained his rank. Where there was consensus about his greed and cruelty, he was dismissed from service.” The incident was an ad hoc assize ordered by

<sup>46</sup> The earliest attestation of the *vitis* as a centurions' badge of office comes from the funerary relief of the Late Republican centurion Minucius Lorarius “the Whipper” (AE 1982, 395). The evidence for the centurions' *vitis* as badge and tool largely comes from the imperial period (e.g. Pliny *NH* 14.3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.23; Plut. *Galb.* 26.5; *ILS*), but the use of the *vitis* as a form of punishment for citizen troops is attested in the second century BC, i.e. Livy *Per.* 57.4 during the Numantia campaign of 134/3, probably here administered by centurions, as in later times.

<sup>47</sup> Jehne (2000) notes that electoral considerations at the very least forced Roman aristocrats to approach common citizens with a studied affability (“Jovialität”), an aspect of political culture that certainly extended into the military sphere.

the emperor's stepson, not a fossilized Republican election, but the fact that the legionaries were sounded at all is a reminder that common soldiers might prove effective judges of the conduct and comportment of their immediate superiors.

#### ELECTED CENTURIONS AND THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

The election of centurions must impact the broader debate about the political character of the Roman Republic. It has been over thirty years since Fergus Millar issued the first salvo in a series of provocative arguments advocating that the Roman Republic should be classified as an ancient democracy.<sup>48</sup> Since then, there has been a flood of productive work that has greatly expanded, if also greatly complicated and problematized, our understanding about the interface between mass and elite in the Republican period.<sup>49</sup> Millar and his critics largely focused their attention upon conventionally civilian political activity: popular assemblies to elect magistrates and pass laws and deliberative *contiones* that stood at the intersection of popular participation and aristocratic display.<sup>50</sup> Nonetheless, the annual election of up to two hundred and forty centurions at the civic levy by their own soldiers would represent a significant manifestation of popular will that took place outside of the sphere of aristocratic electioneering and elite rhetoric.

The practice of electing centurions — in a modified procedure to be sure from the election of magistrates — nonetheless dramatically expanded the number of men who had taken part in electoral politics of Rome and who exercised powers delegated by popular will. Indeed, the office of centurion turns up as one of many items disputed during the so-called Struggle of the Orders. In 342 BC, a mutinous army successfully agitated for a ban on men serving as alternatively military tribunes and senior centurions.<sup>51</sup> The motivation for such a policy was quite likely to prevent the office of centurion, or at least its senior ranks, from being

<sup>48</sup> Most notably Millar (1984), Millar (1986), Millar (1989), and Millar (1998).

<sup>49</sup> Other authors emphasizing a more 'popular' vision of Republican politics include Feig-Vishnia (1996) and Yakobson (1999), with a recent recapitulation by Jehne (2017). North (1990) provides a reasoned middle ground, although ultimately suggests that the people's interventions were only decisive in the face of elite division.

<sup>50</sup> On the *contio*, see especially Morstein-Marx (2004).

<sup>51</sup> Livy 7.41.4. We are told that this provision is a response to one P. Salinius, who had served as both a military tribune and centurion in alternating years.

subsumed into the aristocratic career path. Spurius Ligustinus supposedly lived a tiny farm on a single *iugerum* ( $\frac{2}{3}$  of an acre) of land. Even if this edifying report of a humble, salt-of-the-earth soldier is much embellished, it at least preserves an underlying cultural assumption about the modest class origins of Roman centurions in the Middle Republic. Critics of Millar have argued that whatever freedom a Roman citizen had with his vote was largely negated by the overbearing cultural constructs of aristocratic superiority spun out by various forms of elite display, in particular the pageantry of the triumphal parade and the awesome ritual of the aristocratic funeral.<sup>52</sup> But in electing centurions, Roman soldiers had a chance to cast a vote for candidates from outside of the nobility and the deferential political culture that sustained it.

Furthermore, turnout at Roman civilian elections was probably quite small. The voting spaces in Rome could only accommodate fraction of the total Roman citizen male population (per Henrick Mouritsen's estimates), with the *comitium* holding less than four thousand, the forum less than 10,000, the Capitoline 12,000 and the Campus Martius perhaps 20,000.<sup>53</sup> It is doubtful these spaces were often filled to capacity. Walter Scheidel has noted that by the Middle Republic, far more Roman citizens served in the legions (on average c. 45,000 between 200-167 BC) than could possibly vote in any given election.<sup>54</sup>

Yet virtually all able-bodied male citizens who met the minimum property requirements (*assidui*) had been drafted in the levy.<sup>55</sup> In most years,

<sup>52</sup> Reaction to Millar has been vigorous. Flaig (2003) and Hölkeskamp (2004) shift focus from constitutional mechanics to a political culture dominated by aristocratic display. Mouritsen (2017) provides a useful up-to-date survey of the state of the question, although also decidedly pessimistic about the role of popular participation. The debate continues to be vigorous and productive, and the bibliography provided here makes no attempt at being exhaustive.

<sup>53</sup> For various reconstructions of the capacity of Roman voting spaces, see Mouritsen (2001) 19-23, revised in Mouritsen (2017) 55-58. Thommen (1995) 364 suggests that the maximum number of voters in the forum might only be 6000. MacMullen (1980) is slightly more optimistic, suggesting 15-20,000 in the forum and as many as 55,000 in the Saepta on the Campus Martius. Taylor (1966) 54 posited that as many as 70,000 might be able to vote in the Saepta, although this high figure is not widely accepted, and still would have accommodated fewer than one in four Roman voters in the early second century BC. Brunt (1971) 62 puts the number of Roman citizens in 218 at about 325,000, of which some (perhaps 50,000 or so) came from communities that held a second-class citizenship without voting rights (*sine suffragio*). De Ligt (2012) 55 suggests a slightly higher estimate of 340-350,000 adult male citizens, including those *sine suffragio*.

<sup>54</sup> Scheidel (2006). For Roman legionary deployments: Brunt (1971) 424.

<sup>55</sup> Rosenstein (2004) 185-188 argues that the vast majority of Roman voters, perhaps upwards of 90%, qualified as *assidui* by the second century BC.

when four new legions were raised, some 13,200–15,800 men would vote for their centurions and decurions (assuming legions with 4200–5200 infantry and 300 cavalry, but subtracting *velites*), likely meeting or exceeding the turn-out in most other elections, beyond a few well-attended polls on the Campus Martius. For many young men, voting for centurions at the levy may have provided their initial exposure to the electoral process. Army service doubled as political education. A soldier who made his way to Rome for the levy on the Capitoline Hill now knew the route should he feel inclined to vote in the next election. He had voted for his centurions even if he had never voted for a consul. He might be summoned to a *contio* in camp, where he would listen to the rhetoric of his commander and see fellow soldiers shouting back their opinions.<sup>56</sup> Sitting bored at a sentry post, he might be surprised to find himself approached by the army's quaestor and discover that elites coveted his vote. At the very least, in our search for the political character of the Roman Republic, we must look not just to the *curia* and the *comitium*, but to the *castra* as well.

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# KING OF BEERS: ALCOHOL, AUTHORITY, AND IDENTITY AMONG BATAVIAN SOLDIERS IN THE ROMAN *AUXILIA* AT VINDOLANDA\*

*Abstract:* Beer has long been recognized as a favorite drink among Batavian soldiers in the Roman *auxilia* on the frontiers of Britain. Yet the consumption of beer was one of many practices through which a soldier performed his identity as a provincial soldier serving Rome. This article analyzes the relationship between beer and identity by focusing on *T. Vindol.* III 628, an early second-century CE letter in which a decurion of *cohors VIII Batavorum* asked his commander “king” for beer for the troops. After placing this letter in its Batavian and Roman military context, this article reviews the role of beer at Vindolanda in light of scholarship on food history and newly discovered tablets from London. Like other everyday practices in the negotiation of power and culture, the consumption of beer played a significant role in mobilizing labor, reinforcing authority, and crafting identities among Batavian auxiliaries at Vindolanda.

Around 100 CE, on patrol less than a day away from the military base of Vindolanda in the northern reaches of the Roman province *Britannia*, a detachment of auxiliary cavalry soldiers from the Ninth Cohort of Batavians grew thirsty. Their decurion, Masclus, was awaiting new orders from his commanding officer, Flavius Cerialis, so he decided to write a letter. While Masclus dictated, a *curator* wrote the letter with ink on a wooden leaf tablet:

Left-hand front side (i):	Right-hand front side (ii):
Masclus Ceriali regi suo	[opto domine sis]
salutem	felicissim[u]s [
cras quid uelis nos fecisse	et sis mihi propitius
rogó dómine pra-	uále
	ceruesam commilitones

\* Abbreviations for documents follow *L'Année épigraphique* and “Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets” at <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. *T. Bloomberg* = Tomlin (2016); *T. Luguval.* = Tomlin (1998). This article was written during a postdoctoral fellowship at the Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies at the University of Michigan in 2015-2016. W. Graham Claytor and David Ratzan urged me to publish my findings over a beer or two at the Society for Classical Studies conference in San Francisco in January 2016. I benefited from the feedback from the audience at an invited talk at the University of New Hampshire in April 2016, particularly the advice of Michael Leese, Harriet Fertik, David Bachrach, and Amy Warhaft. Colleagues Murat Yildiz and A.E.T. Tiggy McLaughlin provided feedback at Michigan. Thanks also to the insightful comments and criticism of three anonymous reviewers. Any and all errors remain my own.



cipiás utrumq̃e	5 non habunt quam
cum uexsilló · omnes	rogó iubeas mitti
rediemus an alter-	
ni compitum · aequē	

Back of (ii):

F[Il]auio Ceriali  
 praef(ecto)  
 (*Space of 1 line*)  
 a Masclo dec(urione)

Masclus to Cerialis his king, greetings.

Tomorrow – what do you want us to have done?

Please, sir, give instructions. Are we to return with the standard to (the shrine at) the crossroads all together or every other one (half) of us? Likewise [I pray, sir, that you may be] most fortunate and be well-disposed towards me.

Farewell.

Beer — my fellow-soldiers do not have any. Please order some to be sent.

(Back) To Flavius Cerialis, prefect, from Masclus, decurion.<sup>1</sup>

Masclus may have written the final greeting in his own hand (*uale*, “Farewell”) and then handed it back to the *curator* to write the post-script regarding the beer for his fellow-soldiers.<sup>2</sup> Then the *curator* scored the wooden leaf tablet down the center, folded it, and tied it shut using pre-made holes. Finally, the *curator* addressed it on the back.<sup>3</sup> The letter was then sent to Cerialis at Vindolanda, where archaeologists found it in 1993.

Previous scholars have discussed Masclus’s unusual use of the title “king” and his request for beer as reflections of Batavian identity.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *T. Vindol.* III 628 (ca. 100 to 104/5 CE), transl. Bowman & Thomas (2003), modified. For line ii.0 [*opto domine sis*], see editors’ note *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Curatores* were the cavalry equivalents of the *optiones*, who were in charge of writing in a *centuria* of infantrymen. Both *curatores* and *optiones* delivered reports (*renuntia*) at Vindolanda. See *T. Vindol.* II 128, line 2; 127; III 574. “It is probable, though not certain, that the same hand wrote the body of the letter, the closing greeting, and the address,” Bowman & Thomas (2003)’s introduction to *T. Vindol.* III 628, but also on *uale* (line 3), “More cursively written than the rest of the letter and perhaps added by the writer [Masclus] in his own hand.”

<sup>3</sup> The editors suggest that the back of *T. Vindol.* II 505, also sent by Masclus, was written by the same hand as the back of *T. Vindol.* III 628.

<sup>4</sup> “The men have no beer – what plea could be more heartfelt?” Bowman (2006) 80. *Rex*: Cuff (2011); beer: M. Nelson (2005) 65.

In this article, I situate Masclus's letter in the broader discourses and practices surrounding alcohol, authority, and the identities of auxiliary soldiers serving the Roman Empire in the early second century CE.<sup>5</sup> Complementing previous studies, I assess the impact of a Roman "martial race" ideology on the continued importance of traditional forms of address, and I integrate recent approaches to cultural history and the role of traditional eating and drinking practices (foodways) in the performance of identities.<sup>6</sup> Just as important as the cultural implications of beer were the ecological or economic factors surrounding its consumption.<sup>7</sup> While class, status, military rank, and availability shaped whether an auxiliary soldier drank wine, *posca* (watered-down sour wine [*acetum*] mixed with herbs), or beer, nevertheless, I argue that ethnic and cultural preferences played a significant, if not more important role in determining the choice of beverage. We cannot simply assume that availability alone governed which alcoholic beverage a soldier consumed. In fact, the very act of requesting and drinking beer may have been a form of consumptive code-switching that highlighted ethnic or cultural elements of a soldier's identity.<sup>8</sup> While definitive proof of the cultural significance of beer for Batavian auxiliary soldiers is hard to come by, nevertheless, I argue that it is important to consider the role of the consumption of beer in the performance of identity, rather than simply pointing to economic factors or availability in determining consumption. Economics and culture are intimately entangled, and any attempt to isolate these forces, particularly in the premodern world, is challenging, if not impossible.<sup>9</sup> Combining Masclus's letter with documentary and archaeological evidence from Vindolanda and elsewhere, I suggest that beer played a significant role in motivating Batavian auxiliary soldiers, in reaffirming power and authority, and in preserving, crafting, and contesting cultural and social identities and practices.

<sup>5</sup> Auxiliaries: Haynes (2013).

<sup>6</sup> Martial race / ethnic soldiers: Driel-Murray (2005); Streets (2004); Roymans (2004) 221-234; Driel-Murray (2003). Foodways and cultural history: Pilcher (2016). Foodways at Vindolanda: Pearce (2002).

<sup>7</sup> Hitch (2015); Pearce (2002).

<sup>8</sup> For wine, beer, class, and status, see Garnsey (1999) 118-119, citing Posidonius (quoted in Athenaeus 152c). For code-switching and identity, see Revell (2013); Gardner-Chloros (2010); Wallace-Hadrill (2008). For negotiation, identities, and choice, see Ting-Toomey (2016); Morley (2010) 124.

<sup>9</sup> As emphasized by Dietler (2010) 55-74 and Woolf (2014), in historical analysis it is difficult to separate the "cultural" from the rest of life, given "human-thing entanglement" across the cultural, social, political, and economic spheres.

Batavian auxiliaries held an ambiguous place in the Roman empire.<sup>10</sup> Straddling both the physical and the imagined boundary between Gauls and Germans on the Lower Rhine, Batavians played a crucial role in the Roman military, serving in the auxiliaries, the legions, the fleet, and the horseguards of the Roman emperor.<sup>11</sup> Unlike other conquered peoples, the Batavians did not have to pay taxes to the empire; rather, they were required to contribute a substantial number of soldiers, perhaps as many as one son per household.<sup>12</sup> Even after the Batavian Revolt under Civilis in 69-70 CE, the Romans continued to recruit from the Batavian homeland to fill Batavian auxiliary units, an unusual practice in the early 100s, when most auxiliary recruits were beginning to be drawn from the nearest convenient source.<sup>13</sup> Batavian noblemen also continued to serve as commanders of Batavian auxiliary units into the early 100s.<sup>14</sup> Roman military necessity and demographic reality seem to have outweighed both a need for revenge and any negative stereotypes regarding Batavians.<sup>15</sup>

The Batavians' long history of military service for Rome, the continued recruitment of soldiers from their homeland, and the privilege of having their own aristocratic officers all contributed to their sense of identity as both Batavians and provincial soldiers of Rome. Batavian identity was also formed in part by a Roman ideology of "martial races" or "ethnic soldiers" based on early Roman ethnographic accounts of Germanic peoples.<sup>16</sup> This ideology shaped not only Roman beliefs and

<sup>10</sup> "The Batavians occupied an intermediary position between the barbaric Germans on the one hand and the Gauls, who were receptive to Roman culture, on the other," Roymans (2004) 226.

<sup>11</sup> Willems & Enckevort (2009); Roymans (2004); Speidel (1994); Strobel (1987); Willems (1986); Alföldy (1968); Kraft (1951).

<sup>12</sup> Driel-Murray (2005); Driel-Murray (2003); Willems (1986) 394-397.

<sup>13</sup> Driel-Murray (2012); Driel-Murray (2009); Driel-Murray (2005); van Rossum (2004); Driel-Murray (2003); Birley (2001). Individual Batavian soldiers in Batavian auxiliary units: Derks (2009) 277-280, table B, nos. 19, 21, 25, 26, 28, 31, and 38. For "nearest convenient source," see Haynes (2013) 121-134. Batavians also continued to serve in the *equites singulares Augusti* in the late first and early second c.; see Speidel (1994) 38-41, 81-86, esp. fig. 2 on p. 41.

<sup>14</sup> Birley (2001). Batavian commanders after the revolt: Derks (2009) 281, table D, nos. 2-5, 7, 11-14.

<sup>15</sup> The transfer of many Batavian units to the Danube region in the early second c. stopped this "ethnic unit" recruitment and leadership policy; see van Rossum (2004) (I find his use of "national" to describe the Batavians to be somewhat anachronistic). On the Roman recognition of the growing importance of provincial soldiers, see Master (2016).

<sup>16</sup> "Ethnic soldiers": Enloe (1980). Batavians as ethnic soldiers: Driel-Murray (2005); Roymans (2004) 221-234; Driel-Murray (2003). Germanic, Thracian, and Mauretanian ethnic soldiers: Parent (2009). Roman ethnographic stereotypes: Krebs (2011); Rives

policies but also the ideas and behaviors of the Batavian soldiers recruited from this so-called “martial race” (*ferox gens*).<sup>17</sup> In other words, the Batavians were thought to possess some inborn military character, to be “foremost in valor” (*virtute praecipui*) and ready to be shaped by their Roman masters into loyal, courageous troops.<sup>18</sup> They were “set aside exclusively for use in battle, like weapons and arms they [were] reserved for wars.”<sup>19</sup> As Rothe argues, “the role of the Batavi in the Roman army was not just an aspect of their ethnic identity, it *was* their ethnic identity.”<sup>20</sup>

This “martial race” identity was not simply imposed from above. Rather, the Batavian auxiliary soldiers themselves embraced, manipulated, perpetuated, and problematized this identity through their own actions and beliefs. Batavians depicted themselves on tombstones as cavalrymen trampling “barbarians”, deposited weapons earned in military service in graves and religious sanctuaries, continued to use unusual Greek names as markers of their special status as imperial bodyguards, supported the cult of Hercules Magusanus in light of local and Roman practices, and identified themselves as Batavians in inscriptions when serving away from home.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, Batavian veterans who returned home after their service also helped to perpetuate a distinct Batavian martial identity.<sup>22</sup> Even Batavian veterans who settled elsewhere may have maintained traditional Batavian practices by marrying Batavian women and giving their children Batavian names.<sup>23</sup> Like these other practices, the use of traditional honorary titles and the consumption of beer may also have perpetuated and shaped a sense of Batavian-ness for soldiers who served Rome.

(1999) 16-24, 60. Cf. martial race ideology and military recruitment in the 19th c. British empire: Streets (2004).

<sup>17</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 1.59.

<sup>18</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 29.1.

<sup>19</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 29.1: *et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi velut tela atque arma bellis reservantur.*

<sup>20</sup> Rothe (2014) 502.

<sup>21</sup> Roymans (2004) 221, 227-234, fig. 10.2-3, 6-7. Greek names: Birley (2001) 257-258, following Bellen (1981). Hercules cult: Roymans (2009). Batavian self-identification: Derks (2009) 277-280, table B.

<sup>22</sup> Derks & Roymans (2006), based largely on seal-boxes and military equipment; cf. Andrews (2013).

<sup>23</sup> For example, *RMD* II 86 (113 CE), on which see Greene (2015) 138-139 and Driel-Murray (2003) 209. The names are identified as Celtic, Germanic, or unknown indigenous in Raepsaet-Charlier (2011), Kakoschke (2006-2008), and Holder (1896-1913).

One way auxiliary soldiers could challenge and reinforce stereotypes was through titles of address. Masclus, most likely of Batavian origin, used multiple titles to address his Romano-Batavian commanding officer, Flavius Cerialis, in *T. Vindol.* III 628.<sup>24</sup> His use of the words *rex* “king” in line 1, *dominus* “sir” in line 4, and *praefectus* “prefect” in the exterior address of the letter demonstrated a relationship of deference and respect based on both Batavian traditional authority and Roman military command. *Dominus* was the traditional Roman title for a superior, while *praefectus* was Cerialis’s official military title.<sup>25</sup> Although some scholars interpret *rex* as a term for “patron,”<sup>26</sup> Cuff argues that Masclus’s use of the title “king” in addressing Cerialis was a “clever double reference” with “a Batavian royal nuance” that acknowledged the “distinctly Batavian aspect of his commander’s status” as a commanding officer in the Roman military and as a member of the Batavian nobility (*stirps regia*).<sup>27</sup> As Cuff notes, Masclus did not mean that Cerialis was a “king” in the literal sense. Rather than seeing these Roman and Batavian aspects of Cerialis’s identity as mutually exclusive, Cuff argues that the term “king” reflected the complex dynamics by which the Batavians maintained a strong sense of identity forged through military service to Rome in largely Batavian auxiliary units led by Batavian nobility.

Another way Masclus expressed his identity was through language. The extent to which this letter reflects Masclus’s own word choice is

<sup>24</sup> His name derives from the Latin word *masculus*, “manly”, and was most likely adopted upon joining the army, perhaps a translation of his original Batavian name; see Birley (2001) 257-258. For similar auxiliary decurion names, some of Gallic origin, see *T. Luguval.* 1 and 16 (ca. 100 CE). On onomastic choice in Britain, see Mullen (2007). Although there is no evidence for this practice among Batavians, “double-naming” occurred in Greek-speaking and North African contexts in the Roman empire; see Shaw (2014) 531-532; Pollard (2007); *AE* 2005, no. 1692; *AE* 1991, no. 1427; Clarysse (1985); *AE* 1961, 17.

<sup>25</sup> On *dominus*, see Coleman (2012) 194-198; Speidel (2007); Dickey (2001), arguing that the term is much less deferential than usually assumed; *T. Luguval.* 16.41-42, where the decurion Docilis addressed his prefect Augurinus as *dominus* in the closing of the letter in his own hand (ca. 79-125 CE).

<sup>26</sup> Bowman & Thomas, the editors of *T. Vindol.* III 628, argue that *rex* simply was a conventional term for addressing a patron or superior (“standard flattery”), based on another military letter *P. Mich.* VIII 472.1-2 = *CEL* I 147 (Alexandria to Karanis, Egypt; early 100s CE): *domin[o] et regi suo*, as well as *OLD* s.v. ‘rex’ definition 8 (1650-1651); see also Bowman (2006) 87 n. 1; Dickey (2002) 106-107, who gathers the limited literary evidence.

<sup>27</sup> Cuff (2011) 154-155, following Eck (2005) and Birley (1997) 279-280. *stirps regia*: Tac. *Hist.* 4.12.2-13.1. On Cerialis’s likely Batavian noble heritage, see Birley (2001) 250-251.

difficult to determine, and how his spoken Batavian or Latin language might have influenced his written Latin is also unclear.<sup>28</sup> How he learned Latin is also unknown; he may have been promoted from the ranks, or he could have been appointed from a well-connected Batavian family or have been the son of a veteran.<sup>29</sup> The cursive handwriting, the old-fashioned spellings, and the punctuation demonstrate that a scribe (*curator*), and not Masclus himself, most likely wrote the letter.<sup>30</sup> Still, I would argue that Masclus was significantly involved in the composition of the content of this letter, if not the exact language. Although it is difficult to determine how “literate” Masclus himself may have been, what is important is the fact that auxiliary soldiers at all levels were expected to engage with the written word.<sup>31</sup> Yet the degree of formality of language varied significantly by context. We should not assume that a single document, as a whole, belongs to a certain linguistic variety or register; rather, we need to be aware that more than one sociolinguistic marking can be present in one text.<sup>32</sup> For example, Masclus’s letter has some substandard verb morphology, perhaps related to the Latin spoken in camp.<sup>33</sup> Yet his use of the perfect infinitive *fecisse* (left side, line 3) in reference to the completion at some future time of their duties shows some sophisticated nuance on his part. The use of the perfect infinitive in this way, instead of the present infinitive, is a feature found only in legal language and some poetry, although it may have been an aspect of the locally spoken Latin or even military Latin.<sup>34</sup> Masclus may have chosen this old-fashioned language to express some sense of formality when addressing his

<sup>28</sup> On the Latin used in *T. Vindol.* III 628, see Adams (2003b). Adams has shown that Latin was never geographically or socially uniform, nor can we simply equate written Latin with spoken Latin; see Mullen (2011); Adams (2007); Adams (2003a); Adams (2003c). See also Clackson (2012) on language maintenance and interference, and the use of different languages or names in different social contexts (“domains”) in multilingual societies.

<sup>29</sup> See Gilliam (1957) on the social origins of auxiliary centurions and decurions.

<sup>30</sup> *vexsillo* in left side line 6, interpuncts (mid-level dots) in lines 6 & 8, and apices (accents over vowels) in lines 4-6 and 6 on the right side; see Adams (2003b); Adams (1995).

<sup>31</sup> Haynes (2013) 328. Rather than focus on the quantitative spread of literate habits, Bowman (2006) 88-89 argues that we should be impressed by the depth of literate habits among all social levels at Vindolanda.

<sup>32</sup> Halla-aho (2010).

<sup>33</sup> Such as the use of the third person plural ending *-unt* in the second conjugation verb *habeo* (*habunt* instead of *habent*, right side, line 5) and *rediemus* (left side, line 7) as an alternative for the more common *redibimus*.

<sup>34</sup> Adams (2003b) 544-546.

commanding officer and Batavian “king”. Masclus also used the phrase *sis mihi propitius* (right side, line 2), which, as Adams notes, “seems to allude to religious language, and on the face of it might be taken to imply a sycophantic attitude to the prefect,” or may have been a local epistolary formula.<sup>35</sup> Rather than seeing this as sycophancy or a formula, though, I would argue that the religious language added to Masclus’s expression of respect towards Cerialis’s Batavian noble ancestry and Roman military rank. Such language emphasized the strong sense of Batavian identity maintained through service in the Roman army.

Masclus’s language also showcased his relationship with his fellow soldiers, his *commilitones* (right side, line 4). Often used by emperors and generals when addressing their troops, the term *commilito* encompassed not only military personnel from vastly different social statuses but also soldiers serving in different units.<sup>36</sup> Or, perhaps Masclus was saying “your fellow-soldiers,” in a sense, calling on Cerialis in his role as benefactor to his men. This ambiguous use of the word *commilitones* reinforced the relationship among Masclus, Cerialis, and their fellow-soldiers as both soldiers and, perhaps, as men of a shared ethnic background. His hesitation regarding where to take his troops, his subtle urgency for orders for tomorrow, his courteous, yet “clever double reference” address to his “king”, and his self-conscious referral to his “fellow-soldiers” in his request for beer all point to his active involvement in the production of the letter and in the negotiation over Batavian-Roman identity at Vindolanda.

Tied to his use of traditional titles of address and deferential language was Masclus’s culturally-charged request for beer. In Roman military communities, and especially among Batavians, beer may have acted as an important symbol of ethnic or cultural identity.<sup>37</sup> Drinking beer was an important aspect of northwestern provincial foodways, in contrast to the wine-centric foodways of the Mediterranean regions of the empire.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Adams (2003b) 558, citing *O. BuNjem* 147, line 5 and *T. Vindol.* III 706, which the editors suggest may have been written by Masclus.

<sup>36</sup> Lendon (2006).

<sup>37</sup> Nelson (2005) 66; Whittaker (2002) 97-98. Pearce (2002) 942 argues that the foodways at Vindolanda were similar to those at other high status contexts in the northwest Roman provinces, although the consumption of beer could be interpreted as a “possible resonance” with Batavian traditions. On beer and the agency of soldiers, see Haynes (2013) 180; Roth (1999) 40; Junkelmann (1997) 180; Davies (1971) 199.

<sup>38</sup> “It was probable that beer was drunk by all sectors of Romano-Britain society,” Cool (2006) 142. Newly published beer-related documents from London demonstrate the

The consumption of beer was a social act strongly embedded in socio-cultural ideologies and practices. Beer, as a food, is, as Dietler argues, “an embodied material culture”, a product made specifically by humans to be ingested, and therefore “it has an unusually close relationship to the person” in symbolizing and shaping one’s self-identity. Because of the psychoactive properties of its alcohol, the consumption of beer also plays an important role in ritual contexts and often is shaped “by a set of cultural rules and beliefs that is even more emotionally charged than with other foods and drinks.”<sup>39</sup> It also marked economic difference, as wine was generally more expensive and considered to be a sign of higher status, while beer was seen as a poor man’s drink.<sup>40</sup> The consumption of beer therefore helped to establish boundaries of inclusion and exclusion between more “Roman” officers and more “barbarian” auxiliary soldiers.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, lingering beliefs in the enervating and feminizing qualities of wine may have led some Batavian soldiers to avoid drinking wine altogether.<sup>42</sup> The large quantities of beer in Cerialis’s household accounts suggest that he, too, may have shared in the consumption of beer as a way of maintaining a sense of ethnic solidarity with his soldiers.<sup>43</sup>

important role of beer in first-c. Roman Britain; see *T. Bloomberg* 12, 14, 72; *RIB* II(4) 2443, line 4; Tomlin & Hassall (2006) 478, no. 33g. See also Nelson (2005) 63–66, citing Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 2.88 (Wellmann ed.) (ca. 70s CE) on barley beer (κοῦρμι) instead of wheat-wine in the Iberian peninsula and Britain. See also Amm. Marc. 26.8.2, on *sabaia*, a poor person’s liquor (perhaps beer) made from barley or some other grain in Illyricum, and the emperor Julian’s epigram on beer, *Anth. Pal.* 9.368. For a recent review of historical studies of food, see Pilcher (2016). For ancient foodways and identity, see Broekaert (2016); Banducci (2015); Donahue (2015); Pitts (2015); Hitch (2015); Banducci (2014); Garnsey (1999).

<sup>39</sup> Dietler (2006) 232.

<sup>40</sup> Nelson (2005) ch. 3–6; Nelson (2003). Bourdieu (1984) emphasizes a connection between taste and social distinction, arguing that taste preferences internalize group values and express and help maintain social hierarchies; see also Feldman (2005) for taste among aspiring Roman elites.

<sup>41</sup> Carroll (2005) 370, on soldiers, food, solidarity, and distinction.

<sup>42</sup> Caes. *De bell. gall.* 4.2.6, on the Germanic Suebi in the 50s BCE, although Caesar’s account may be shaped by literary motifs and cultural bigotry. Assuming that some Germanic peoples held these beliefs, to what extent the Batavian auxiliaries in the 100s CE felt this way towards wine is impossible to know given the state of our evidence. Significant quantities of wine in documentary accounts and wine- and *posca*-bearing vessels and barrels found at Vindolanda, as discussed below, suggests that wine may not have been disliked or feared as much as Caesar’s account implies.

<sup>43</sup> Birley (1997) 279–280 argues that Cerialis “no doubt” shared his soldiers’ love of beer, “surely” made from a “Batavian recipe.” Cool (2006) 142, based on *T. Vindol.* II 190 and 186, argues that it was “not just the common soldiers” who requested beer but also those living in the prefect’s house.



In addition to reinforcing a sense of identity, beer and feasts could also be used to motivate soldiers to follow orders. Using modern ethnographic studies in Africa as a comparison, Dietler has argued that both alcohol and feasts were used by the indigenous peoples of Iron Age Gaul and other societies as a mechanism for mobilizing labor and reinforcing political authority.<sup>44</sup> Tacitus, writing in 98 CE, claimed that the Germans placed an immense social importance on feasting, including drinking, as a way of determining political relationships.<sup>45</sup> Batavian soldiers serving in Vindolanda may have shared these traditional Germanic feasting practices and may also have continued preparing food in a traditional Batavian way. A fragmentary list of ingredients, perhaps a culinary recipe, was found in Cerialis's kitchen.<sup>46</sup> While the exact nature of the recipe is uncertain, the editors suggest a preserve or marinade of some kind due to the presence of a garlic mixture (*alliatum*), spiced wine or pickling liquor (*conditum*), and perhaps salt and olives.<sup>47</sup> Most notably, though, the appearance of the word *batauico* in line 2 may suggest that Cerialis's staff prepared meals in a "Batavian" way for the household, or even for the soldiers of the base.<sup>48</sup> As with beer, Cerialis may have utilized traditional feasts to motivate his men, reinforce his authority, and perpetuate Batavian foodways.

Tied to concerns about identity and the mobilization of labor was the relationship between the consumption of alcohol among soldiers and the Roman military ideology and practice of *disciplina militaris*. A key component of *disciplina* was dietary austerity.<sup>49</sup> Controlling consumption promoted both social control and the maintenance of cohesion.<sup>50</sup> Specifically military anxieties, such as the dangers of drunkenness in the field, the fear of rapacious soldiers, and the legitimatization of command, also shaped *disciplina*. Literary and legal sources emphasized the dangers in feasting and drinking, such as distraction, elation, misjudgment,

<sup>44</sup> Dietler (2006); Dietler & Hayden (2001); Dietler (1990); and more broadly, Dietler (2010). For a similar approach to Roman glass found at native Iron Age sites in Scotland, see Ingemark (2014), but note Nelson's review in *BMCR* 2016.05.15.

<sup>45</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 21.2-22.

<sup>46</sup> *T. Vindol.* II 208, found in Room VIII of the Period 3 *praetorium*, which has been identified as a kitchen; see Birley (1994) 70-72.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Apicius, *De re coquinaria* 3.9.

<sup>48</sup> *T. Vindol.* II 208.2: *batauico*. The note suggests "we might envisage...a noun followed by something like *batauico* [*more paratum* ('prepared in a Batavian way')."

<sup>49</sup> This ideal of austerity may not have occurred in practice, as documents, seed, and faunal evidence from both Egypt and Britain point to the availability of an array of food types for soldiers; see Van der Veen (1998).

<sup>50</sup> Phang (2008) ch. 7.

incapacitation, violence, mutiny, and civil war.<sup>51</sup> For example, Tacitus portrayed the Thracian auxiliaries serving in Gaius Poppaeus Sabinus's campaign in 26 CE as leaving their posts for wild feasts or lazing about in drunken slumber.<sup>52</sup> Soldiers of Germanic origin were especially expected by Roman authors to drink to excess, leading to violence.<sup>53</sup> How much these concerns were representative of reality or simply literary motifs or cultural bigotry is difficult to determine. Yet in a fragment of a letter from Vindolanda around 100 CE, someone is said to have been "more inebriated" and therefore some task was not completed.<sup>54</sup> Was it one of Masclus's fellow soldiers? While it is hard to know the extent to which traditional notions of dietary austerity and *disciplina militaris* shaped Cerialis's treatment of his soldiers, it is nevertheless possible that he looked to some literary *exempla* as models for how to interact with his troops, including the provisioning of alcohol.<sup>55</sup>

Beyond the cultural and ideological implications of beer, the production and distribution of beer also played an important role at Vindolanda. Unlike wine, the production and distribution of beer was largely a local phenomenon. The production of beer was a time- and labor-intensive process.<sup>56</sup> Grain had to be grown, harvested, threshed, sieved, pounded, malted, ground, steeped, flavored, cooled, fermented, stored, and distributed. These processes involved the entire military community, depending on the labor of civilian and soldier, free and slave, man and woman alike. The simple demand of the Batavian soldiers in Masclus's letter, therefore, not only impacted their identities and their relationship to their commanding officer but also shaped the everyday lives of the broader local community.

Beer at Vindolanda was most likely made from spelt wheat (*bracis*).<sup>57</sup> Wheat was acquired on a large scale from local or long distance sources

<sup>51</sup> Literary evidence gathered by Phang (2008) 252. See also Hadrian's rescripts on the mitigated punishment of drunken soldiers: *Dig.* 48.3.12.pr (Callistratus *Cogn.* 5), 49.16.6.6-7 (Menander *Re mil.* 3).

<sup>52</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 4.48.

<sup>53</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 22-23. On barbarian drunkenness and lack of restraint (both in vices and in violence) as a literary motif, see Rives (1999) 216, on Tac. *Germ.* 23.1; cf. Justin *Epitome* 1.8.7.

<sup>54</sup> *T. Vindol.* III 662, lines 3-5: *constat esse / non factum et illum / magis esse ebriacum*, "is agreed to have not been done and that he was more(?) inebriated."

<sup>55</sup> Campbell (1987); see Langlands (2011) and Lobur (2008) ch. 6 on *exempla*.

<sup>56</sup> Time and labor for malting and brewing in 14th-c. England: Bennett (1996) 17-18.

<sup>57</sup> Pearce (2002) 934. Nelson (2005) 65 contends that *bracis* could refer to the malt made from spelt wheat. *Bracis* was a Celtic loanword, similar to *cervesa*; see Adams (2003b) 562-563; Adams (1995) 127.

through a mix of levy, requisition, or purchase.<sup>58</sup> The wheat first had to be threshed and sieved, separating the weed and chaff elements from the clean grain. This may have been done by either the producer or the consumer.<sup>59</sup> Octavius, a civilian merchant or military supply officer for Vindolanda, claimed to have had 119 *modii* (about 1042 liters) of threshed spelt wheat available for purchase by the garrison for bread, gruel, and beer.<sup>60</sup> After threshing, the grain was separated from the glume (husk) by heating or pounding.<sup>61</sup> The maltster (*braciarius*) then soaked the grain in water, perhaps overnight or for several days, allowing the grain to germinate and produce shoots.<sup>62</sup> As it soaked, the grain developed an enzyme that transformed its starch into fermentable sugar. To stop the germination, the sprouting grain was spread out and dried or roasted, turning the germinating grain into malt.

Malt may have been produced at Vindolanda or at nearby locations, as suggested by material and documentary evidence. Carbonized germinated wheat, perhaps accidentally charred during the malting process, and T-shaped kilns (called “corn-dryers”), found in or near military bases, point to the local or regional production of malt.<sup>63</sup> Around 100 CE, Optatus, a maltster (*braciarius*), perhaps a freedman or an imperial slave, exchanged correspondence and made financial transactions at Vindolanda and York.<sup>64</sup> Another document records a transaction with a malthouse (*braciarium*) in Isurium (Aldborough, Boroughbridge), the former capital of the Brigantes, about 149.5 km away from Vindolanda on the road to London. This suggests

<sup>58</sup> Pearce (2002) 931.

<sup>59</sup> Cool (2006) 69-71.

<sup>60</sup> *T. Vindol.* II 343, lines 25-29: *bracis excussi habeo / m(odios) cxix fac (denarios) mi mittas ut possi/m spicam habere in excusso/rio iam autem si quit habui / perexcussi* “I have 119 *modii* of threshed spelt wheat (*bracis*). Make sure that you send me cash so that I may have ears of grain on the threshing-floor. Moreover, I have already finished threshing all that I had” (transl. Bowman & Thomas, modified); see also *T. Vindol.* II 348.

<sup>61</sup> Cool (2006) 70.

<sup>62</sup> *Braciarius* (maltster or malt-maker): *T. Vindol.* III 646.back, line 2. Malting and brewing: Thomas (2011); Alcock (2006) 90; Cool (2006) 140-143; Alcock (2001) 93-94. Calculating the quantities and times involved is difficult. I suspect that most beer was produced over a week or two.

<sup>63</sup> Cool (2006) 143; Nelson (2005) 64-65; Pearce (2002) 934; Seaward in Driel-Murray e.a. (1993) 106-107. Cf. Van der Veen in Maxfield e.a. (2001) 189 and Van der Veen (1997) for the military site at Mons Claudianus in Egypt. The only clear sign of the production of malt is where the charred grains show signs of having sprouted, so not all charred grain assemblages and corn drying kilns can be definitely identified as signs of malting.

<sup>64</sup> Birley (2002) 119; *T. Vindol.* III 646, 647, stylus tablets Inv.no. 87.689 and 93.1220.

that malt was also produced far from Vindolanda, sent to the military base, and then brewed into beer on site.<sup>65</sup> Documents from Carlisle and London, as well as from military sites in the eastern desert of Egypt, also demonstrate the separate production and trade of malt.<sup>66</sup>

Brewers at Vindolanda, whether they were civilian contractors, soldiers, veterans, women, slaves, or freedmen, transformed the malt into beer locally.<sup>67</sup> The brewers ground the malt and steeped it in hot water for a number of hours (the process is called mashing). A brown sweet liquid, called wort, was then strained and separated from the residual starch grains. The wort was then boiled for about an hour to sterilize the liquid, make the enzyme inactive, and stabilize the flavor and consistency. However, it is not clear that beer was boiled in Roman times, and it is unlikely that ancient maltsters knew about sterilization. Herbs, such as costmary or wormwood, or honey may have been added for flavor, as hops was not used in brewing until the ninth century at the earliest.<sup>68</sup> After boiling, the hot wort was quickly cooled, probably in shallow trays, to lower the wort to a temperature favorable to yeast. Fermentation was started by adding (“pitching”) yeast, probably wild yeast present in the air, to the cooled wort. During this process, the yeast converts the sugars in the wort into alcohol and carbon dioxide, producing beer. Since the beer was neither pasteurized nor contained hops, it had a relatively short shelf life and spoiled quickly, hence requiring local and frequent production and distribution.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, Masclus’s demand for beer may have been a regular request while he and his men were stationed away from Vindolanda.

<sup>65</sup> *T. Vindol.* III 595.i, line 3 (with note), *Isurio im braciariq̄*. For Isurium, see *T. Vindol.* II 185, line 23.

<sup>66</sup> Carlisle: *RIB* II(4), 2443.4 = *AE* 1988, 844 = *AE* 1990, 667 = Hassall & Tomlin (1988) 496–497, no. 32 and fig. 7 (*braciarius*). London: *T. Bloomberg* 12 (*bracearius*). Tomlin (2016) 82 believes that the maltster / brewer Tertius in both Carlisle and London is the same individual, since the name is also scored on a wooden barrel-head found in London; see Tomlin & Hassall (2006) 478, no. 33g. Malt (*buni*) in Egypt: *O. Claud.* I 170; II 292; inv. 328+389; inv. 3225; *O. Did.* 443; once in an unpublished document from Krokodilô and once in an unpublished document from Maximianon; see Cuvigny (2006) 574 and Cuvigny (2012) 32–33.

<sup>67</sup> Whittaker (2002) 97–99 argues that beer was brewed in the outside *vicus* rather than inside the fort itself. Possible civilian brewer: *T. Vindol.* II 182, line 14 (ca. 100 to 104/5 CE); brewers of unknown status: *T. Vindol.* III 581.a, lines 6 and 17 (May 102 – June 103 CE); soldier-brewer: *AE* 1928, 183 (first c. CE, Trier); brewers in professional associations: M. Nelson (2005) 57. Brewers were also present at military bases in the eastern desert of Egypt; see Van der Veen in Maxfield e.a. (2001) 189; *O. Claud.* IV 866, 867, inv. 6845; *O. Did.* 76.

<sup>68</sup> Nelson (2005) 3.

<sup>69</sup> Dietler (2006) 238; Nelson (2005) 100, 105–110.

While not directly attested in the documents as brewers, women most likely provided a significant portion of the beer-making labor at Vindolanda and at other military bases.<sup>70</sup> Drawing, in part, on ethnographic studies of modern societies, scholars have argued that women played a major role in preserving traditions of dress, food preparation, pottery-making, and language in the Roman provinces.<sup>71</sup> Women also provided much of the labor for grinding grain, baking bread, and, most likely, brewing beer, even, I would argue, in military communities.<sup>72</sup> Recent scholarship has reaffirmed the presence and important economic and social role women played in Roman military communities, including within the walls of the base.<sup>73</sup> Given the time and labor requirements for the production of beer, as well as the cultural implications of consuming the proper type (perhaps Batavian-style?) of beer, it would be unwise not to consider the role of women, both free(d) and slave, as maltsters and brewers at Vindolanda and at other Roman military sites.

After fermenting, beer was then matured in storage vessels or drunk fresh. Scholars have suggested that a combination of amphorae, water-skins, and barrels were used to store and transport beer.<sup>74</sup> Barrels were typically produced in central and southern Gaul for the wine trade, including wine sent to military bases in Britain. A newly published first-century stylus writing-tablet from London of a letter addressed to a cooper shows that barrels could also have been produced in Britain.<sup>75</sup> Wine barrels were often reused as well-linings, floorboards, and containers for locally brewed

<sup>70</sup> For soldiers' slaves and women, see Phang (2008) 234-237; Phang (2005); Phang (2004). Probable Batavian women such as Thuttena, the "sister" of Chrauttius (*T. Vindol.* II 310, lines 16-17) and the unnamed partner / *de facto* wife (*contubernalis*) of Tagamas / Tagomas (*T. Vindol.* II 181, lines 14-15; cf. IV 861.ii, line 25 and note) may have contributed their labor as brewers, but the documents do not directly attest to this. As suggested by *RMD* II 86 (113 CE), discussed above, Batavian wives may have accompanied their Batavian husbands while in military service.

<sup>71</sup> Driel-Murray (2012); Driel-Murray (2009). For beer, gender, identity, and labor, see Wolputte & Fumanti (2010); Mager (2010); Bennett (1996).

<sup>72</sup> Cool (2006) 74 on civilian communities. Children were also important sources of labor. Most scholars argue that soldiers prepared their own food; see Roth (1999) 44-45.

<sup>73</sup> Greene (2015); Greene (2013); Allison (2013); Greene (2012); Allason-Jones (1999); Driel-Murray (1997, 1998); Driel-Murray (1995).

<sup>74</sup> Sealey (2009) 24-25; Marlière (2002) 187; Boon (1975).

<sup>75</sup> *T. Bloomberg* 14, although a cooper could simply refer to a barrel-seller. Note that the barrel fragments at Vindolanda seem to have been made of pine (Birley e.a. (1993) 75), which could be found in Britain, rather than silver fir, which generally grows in the central Europe alpine region as well as the Pyrenees and Massif Central and ascribed to production sites in southern and central Gaul; see Tomlin (2016) 6; Sealey (2009) 25; Marlière (2002) 89-99; Boon (1975) 53, 55-56, esp. fig. 3.

beer. At Vindolanda, barrel staves with graffiti and markings have been found reused as floorboards and perhaps previously used for storing beer.<sup>76</sup> The modern microbrewery industry highly values old wine barrels for brewing beer, as they give a distinct flavor to the beers.<sup>77</sup> Whether brewers or soldiers of the Roman empire had these concerns is impossible to tell. An ostrakon letter from the quarry and military station at Mons Claudianus in the eastern desert of Egypt suggests that leather water-skins were also used for transporting beer.<sup>78</sup> While no leather water-skins have been identified in the leatherwork assemblage at Vindolanda, the amount and variety of leather products does suggest the possibility of the use of leather water-skins to transport beer.<sup>79</sup>

While it is challenging to reconstruct the mechanics of the production and distribution of beer, it is more difficult to determine whether beer served as part of a soldier's ration, as some have suggested based on Masclus's letter.<sup>80</sup> Alcohol in the form of wine or *acetum* (sour wine) was typically provided as a ration to Roman soldiers and deducted from their pay.<sup>81</sup> We have no direct evidence that beer was provided as an official ration to soldiers. What is clear, though, as Grønlund Evers demonstrates, is that the economic practices at Vindolanda, including the production and distribution of beer, created a complex "plurality of exchange processes incorporating ... market exchange, reciprocity, and redistribution."<sup>82</sup> Whether the beer was provided as an official military ration and crafted through the labor of soldiers, slaves, or women, or whether beer was produced by civilian contractors and bought at market or set rates, Masclus's request, combined with other documents, reveals that soldiers expected beer from Cerialis in his role as their Roman military commander and "royal" Batavian leader.

In addition to the production and the distribution of beer, how Batavian auxiliary soldiers drank beer also played a significant role in shaping the everyday negotiations over identity and authority. Beyond merely fulfilling caloric and dietary needs, beer-drinking had symbolic importance as

<sup>76</sup> Marlière (2002) 173, 182, 193-195; Birley e.a. (1993) 75.

<sup>77</sup> Tonsmeire (2014) 198-216.

<sup>78</sup> *O. Claud.* IV 867.

<sup>79</sup> Driel-Murray e.a. (1993) 1-75. *T. Vindol.* II 343 mentions a large leather hide purchase or sale.

<sup>80</sup> Nelson (2005) 65 (*contra* Roth (1999) 40); cf. the uncertainty of Bowman (2006) 84.

<sup>81</sup> Roth (1999) 35-44; Junkelmann (1997) 176-180.

<sup>82</sup> Grønlund Evers (2011) 25.

a practice that promoted unity or diversity among the participants.<sup>83</sup> As Carroll argues, “eating and drinking played a role in either homogenizing or heterogenizing the participants.”<sup>84</sup> Similar to the act of code-switching in linguistics, whereby speakers in bilingual or multilingual settings shift languages as a compromise strategy, or as a sign of class, ethnicity, or other social statuses, Batavian soldiers performed their own complex identity by alternating between the consumption of beer and other more traditional “Roman” beverages, such as wine and *posca*.<sup>85</sup>

Given the likely prevalence among soldiers for drinking *posca* rather than beer, I suggest that the act of drinking beer may have been symbolically significant, marking both the status and the ethnic background of the soldiers who drank it. Soldiers were encouraged to drink *posca*, a drink based on *acetum* mixed with water and infused with herbs.<sup>86</sup> Known quantities of *acetum* listed on documents are few at Vindolanda, ranging between 1 liter on one day to about 9 liters on another.<sup>87</sup> Yet some of the large barrels found at Vindolanda that were shipped from Lyon may have held enough *acetum* to produce about 108,500 liters of *posca*.<sup>88</sup> Such large quantities may suggest that *posca*, rather than beer, was the drink of choice for soldiers at Vindolanda. Yet since the production of beer is often hidden from the archaeological and documentary record, determining the extent to which a soldier drank *posca* or beer is difficult to determine. The quantity of beer that was typically consumed by auxiliary soldiers can be estimated based on documents from Vindolanda and comparative historical evidence from other armies. An account on a tablet found in Cerialis’s *praetorium* lists entries for amounts of beer (*cervesa*), wine, sour wine (*acetum*), and fish-sauce, suggesting the consumption of two to four *modii* (17.5–35 liters) of beer per day by some unknown number of persons.<sup>89</sup> The account seems

<sup>83</sup> Beer as a “basic liquid refreshment”: Bennett (1996) 17; see also Cool (2006); Pearce (2002) 939.

<sup>84</sup> Carroll (2005) 370.

<sup>85</sup> Revell (2013); Gardner-Chloros (2010).

<sup>86</sup> Dalby (2003), s.v. *posca*, citing Mark 15.36 (cf. Matt. 27.48, Luke 23.36); SHA *Hadr.* 10.2, *Avid. Cass.* 5.3, *Pesc. Nig.* 10.3; *CJ* 12.37.1 (360 CE, soldiers drank *acetum* and wine on alternate days); and Vegetius 3.3. See also Roth (1999) 35–44; Junkelmann (1997) 176–180.

<sup>87</sup> *T. Vindol.* II 190.c.25 (2 *sextarii*); III 673 (unknown number of *modii*); restored by editors at II 202.a.2 note (1 *sextarius*) and 3 note (1 *modius* and 1 *sextarius*).

<sup>88</sup> Marlière & Torres Costa (2005) 231, assuming a mixture of 1/10th *acetum* to 9/10th water; Marlière (2003); Marlière (2002); Marlière (2001).

<sup>89</sup> *T. Vindol.* II 190: 19 June – quantity missing; 20 June – two *modii*; 21 June – two *modii* (difficult reading); 23 June – three *modii*; 24 June – three *modii* and a missing quantity of *sextarii*. 1 *modius* = 8.754 liters; 1 *modius* = 16 *sextarii*; 1 *sextarius* = 0.547 liters.



to have come from the domestic administration of the prefect's household, but it is possible that the supplies for the officer's household and for his soldiers were shared. It is not entirely clear whether the commodities listed are those entering or leaving the household. Another account found in the period 4 centurions' or *optiones*' quarters lists the acquisition or purchase of nails for boots, salt, beer, and pork and their prices over a period of some weeks, with a *metretes* (ca. 55 liters) of beer listed on two separate days.<sup>90</sup> Pearce, based on the daily amounts in these documents and the rates of consumption of early modern and modern English soldiers, estimates that each soldier at Vindolanda consumed between 3 and 5.7 liters per day (ca. 1.5–3 *sextarii*).<sup>91</sup>

The context in which soldiers drank also shaped the significance of their choice in beverage. There is little to no evidence for "institutional commensality", that is, troops of all ranks dining together. Officers ate in the commander's *praetorium*, while common soldiers cooked and dined together in their *contubernia* (barracks quarters for groups of eight men), where they also slept.<sup>92</sup> Soldiers created "relations of equality, intimacy and group solidarity" by preparing and consuming food in their subunits (*centuria*, *turma*, or *contubernium*), while officers displayed their rank, status, and distinction from their troops through the consumption of luxury foods and drinks, the use of large dining spaces, and the service of slaves.<sup>93</sup> Drinking beer among common soldiers, separate from their officers, may have contributed to a sense of group solidarity but also of distinction from the officers.

Religious festivals, probably celebrated in part by drinking beer, also served as opportunities to mark group solidarity. Quantities of beer were listed in an account over a number of days that might have been related to a religious festival.<sup>94</sup> Another account mentioning brewers also contains a reference to the festival or cult of the *Matronae*.<sup>95</sup> While there is

<sup>90</sup> *T. Vindol.* II 186 (110/111 CE). 1 *metretes* = 100 *sextarii* = 54.7 liters. While the Ninth Cohort of Batavians had been withdrawn from Vindolanda for the wars against the Dacians in ca. 104/105 CE (see Strobel (1987)), this account still gives us a sense of the quantities involved for auxiliary troops of NW Gallic origin, as the individuals mentioned, Audax and Gracilis, may well have been soldiers in the First Cohort of Tungrians then stationed at Vindolanda.

<sup>91</sup> Pearce (2002) 939, citing Clark (1983) 154-155; Garnsey (1999) 44; Coleman (1968) 25-26, 85-86; see also Bennett (1996) 17.

<sup>92</sup> Junkelmann (1997) 94.

<sup>93</sup> Carroll (2005) 370.

<sup>94</sup> *T. Vindol.* II 190.

<sup>95</sup> *T. Vindol.* III 581, lines 71-72.



no indication from this account that beer was provided for the celebration of this cult, it is clear that this cult was widely celebrated in Roman imperial Germany and most likely would have appealed to the Batavian troops as a way to express “their conflicted local and imperial identities.”<sup>96</sup> Other references to religious events, such as the Saturnalia and New Year’s Day, reveal additional opportunities for relationships to be reinforced or challenged through the consumption and provision of beer.<sup>97</sup> If the traditional Germanic feasts described by Tacitus were in any way celebrated by Batavian soldiers, then drinking beer was a central aspect to them that provided the social lubricant that facilitated holding frank discussions, settling differences, and motivating soldiers for difficult tasks.<sup>98</sup>

Just as significant as the social contexts were the vessels from which the beer was imbibed. Masclus and his soldiers could have drunk their beer from a variety of cups, beakers, mugs, or leather skins. There is evidence that some Batavian soldiers at Vindolanda continued to use a traditional North Gaulish grey ware beaker, the *vase tronconique*.<sup>99</sup> This particular vessel-type is thought to have been produced in northern *Gallia Belgica*, particularly in the tribal territories of the Atrebatas, Nervii, and Viromandui in the modern Hauts-de-France region. Similar grey ware beakers were also produced in areas to the north and east of those tribes, and grey ware beakers have been found at Tongres, the tribal capital of the Tungrians (another ethnic group present at Vindolanda) and at the legionary fortress of Nijmegen and other military sites in the Lower Rhine Batavian homeland. Other beakers found at Vindolanda, almost certainly made in the vicinity of the base, have profiles and fabrics very similar to *vase tronconique* and perhaps were made as deliberate copies by soldier-potters.<sup>100</sup>

Based on the sudden, brief appearance of the North Gaulish grey ware *vase tronconique* in military sites in Britain, as well as its large capacity relative to normal Roman wine-drinking-vessels, Swan interprets these beakers as beer-drinking-vessels tied to a particular ethnic tradition and

<sup>96</sup> Bowman (2006) 87; Woolf (2003) 138.

<sup>97</sup> Saturnalia: *T. Vindol.* II 301, line 3. Military pay records from Egypt (*Rom. Mil. Rec.* 68, 81 CE) reveal deductions for “Saturnalia of the camp.” New Year’s Day sacrifice: *T. Vindol.* II 265. See also Stoll (2007).

<sup>98</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 22.

<sup>99</sup> Swan (2009).

<sup>100</sup> Swan (2009) 77.

specially imported to Britain or personally brought by Germanic auxiliary soldiers.<sup>101</sup> While there remain methodological challenges of equating pottery types with particular ethnic groups, Swan's arguments nevertheless are suggestive of the possible continuation of traditional drinking habits among Batavian auxiliaries.<sup>102</sup> The Vindolanda example of North Gaulish grey ware *vase tronconique* held about 1.14 liters, "larger than would have been appropriate for individual use," suggesting that they may have been used in ritual group beer-drinking sessions, as alluded to by Tacitus.<sup>103</sup> Although such a suggestion is plausible, we do not know the alcoholic content of the beer drunk from these vessels. Perhaps a liter of beer was not too much for one Batavian soldier to drink, especially if one considers the estimated consumption of 3 to 5.7 liters per person per day. Swan also points out that some examples of these beakers had sooting on the lower portion of the body, suggesting that they were placed in a fire either for making a mulled drink flavored with honey, spices, or fruit, or even for heating "sloppy foods." Such a multipurpose vessel, she argues, would have been useful in the Roman military.<sup>104</sup> Swan's arguments for the possible uses and significance of North Gaulish grey ware beakers are highly plausible, although we must allow for a variety of uses based on the background and status of the consumers.<sup>105</sup>

Having considered the broader implications of the request for beer, let us return to the letter itself. Since Masclus's request for beer appears as a postscript, one could suspect that it was an afterthought. Yet it is likely that the request for beer was the real reason behind the letter.<sup>106</sup> Masclus's request, combined with his use of a traditional title of address, subtly engaged in the broader negotiation over authority and identity among the provincial soldiers who served Rome. Moreover, the use of a Batavian recipe and North Gaulish beer-drinking vessels at Vindolanda also suggests that Batavian auxiliaries thought that maintaining traditional consumption habits was important. While it is easy to point to practical reasons for the

<sup>101</sup> Swan (2009) 72-77, also arguing for the fleet (*Classis Britannica*) and personal baggage of soldiers as supply mechanisms of North Gaulish grey wares, rather than commercial trade (*contra* Monaghan (1993)). See also Carroll (2002) for native pottery in *Germania* and the *Classis Germanica*.

<sup>102</sup> See the critique of Fulford (2010).

<sup>103</sup> Swan (2009) 73; Tac. *Germ.* 22-23; capacity: Swan (2009) 71 n. 30.

<sup>104</sup> Swan (2009) 73, 75.

<sup>105</sup> Haynes (2013) 186-187.

<sup>106</sup> "One wonders if the beer was the real reason for the letter, artfully placed at the end of a request for instructions which was only an excuse for writing," Birley (1997) 279.

consumption of beer on the Roman frontiers, such as local availability, I would argue that drinking beer was symbolically significant. Through their demand for beer, and the likely beliefs and practices surrounding this demand, Masclus and his soldiers asserted their complex identities as Batavians serving Rome and challenged, albeit in a muted way, the authority of their Romano-Batavian commanding officer, Cerialis.

Masclus, as an intermediary between his soldiers and his commanding officer, used the consumption of beer as a way to build solidarity between himself and the auxiliary soldiers under his supervision. But the very fact that Masclus could acquire the beer distinguished him as superior to his men. Cerialis, too, “was a man at home in two worlds”, whose supply and perhaps even consumption of beer built connections and drew distinctions between himself, his soldiers, and his Batavian and Roman identities.<sup>107</sup> Both men would have recognized the role beer played in mobilizing soldiers and creating unity and difference within their military community. But did Cerialis indulge Masclus’s request? Or did he consider Tacitus’s stereotype of Germanic “barbarians” and instead refuse to provide the beer (or at least an inebriating amount): “If you indulge their drunkenness by supplying as much drink as they crave, they will be as easily defeated by their vices as by force of arms.”<sup>108</sup> As suggested by the documentary and archaeological evidence at Vindolanda, we can reasonably guess that Cerialis did fulfill his soldiers’ request for beer. In so doing, Cerialis motivated them to complete their tasks, reinforced his role as their superior officer and patron, and created a sense of obligation and camaraderie. Masclus, too, by requesting the beer, situated himself as a mediator between Cerialis and the soldiers, in effect, acting as the social glue that helped to bind the community together as both a Roman military unit and a Batavian cultural center.

While this article focused on the experiences of Batavian soldiers who served in the *auxilia* of the Roman army at the military base of Vindolanda in northern Britain, similar dynamics may have occurred in other frontier communities, particularly in the eastern desert of Egypt.<sup>109</sup> Egypt was an area known for its beer-drinking and beer tax, although wine became more

<sup>107</sup> Haynes (2013) 181.

<sup>108</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 23.1: *si induleris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.*

<sup>109</sup> Cuvigny (2012) 32-33; Sidebotham (2011) 169; Cuvigny (2006) 574; Van der Veen in Maxfield e.a. (2001) 189; Van der Veen (1997).

prominent over time.<sup>110</sup> Auxiliary soldiers of Greco-Egyptian, Thracian, and Dacian origin, drinking wine or beer, may also have used drinking habits and foodways to challenge, reinforce, and reimagine Roman ethnic stereotypes concerning Egyptian and northern “barbarian” behavior.<sup>111</sup>

One final tablet may also suggest the importance of beer to the inhabitants of the military community at Vindolanda. In what appears to be a draft of a letter, perhaps another request for beer, the final and only legible words at the end of the right column read: “concerning tastes of beers.”<sup>112</sup> Was Cerialis, the “king of beers”, holding a beer-tasting event for his men? Or perhaps Masclus, another decurion, or a soldier was lamenting the last drops of beer? As I have argued, the documents and material evidence from Vindolanda demonstrate that beer played a major role in motivating auxiliary soldiers, in reaffirming authority and power, and in preserving, crafting, and contesting cultural and social identities and practices. As Masclus’s letter suggests, the Batavians serving in Vindolanda lived in a world shaped by their complex role as ethnic soldiers in the Roman army. Rather than simply maintaining or abandoning aspects of their native culture, these men actively re-imagined and re-deployed traditional Batavian practices and behaviors, thereby contributing to the ever-changing Roman military community.

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<sup>110</sup> van Minnen (2001); Clarysse (2001); Nelson (1976).

<sup>111</sup> Oltean (2009); Nelson (2005) 67-70; Dana (2003).

<sup>112</sup> *T. Vindol.* II 482.4-5: *de · guttīs · ceruesq̄/rum ·*. The editors note that the force of the plural *cervesarum* is not obvious. The corrigenda in *T. Vindol.* III appendix (pp. 155-161) suggest *gustis*, the plural of *gustum*, “a reference to beer-tasting?”

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## LA CHRONOLOGIE DES ARCHIVES DE NARMOUTHIS\*

*Abstract:* In 1939 Achille Vogliano pointed out in a communication of the Antiquities Service that the ostraca found in the Narmuthis temple complex could be dated to the period between Hadrian and Commodus. Even though some Narmuthis ostraca make allusion to a regnal year, in most texts the name of the emperor is not explicitly mentioned and several dating possibilities should be considered. In this article, all the published texts containing dating elements have been gathered in order to determine, as accurately as possible, the period of configuration of the Narmuthis archive.

Les archives de Narmouthis, découvertes à Médinet Madi en 1938, sont composées de plus de 1500 ostraca rédigés en égyptien et en grec. De ces textes, approximativement 40% ont été publiés<sup>1</sup>. En 1939 Achille Vogliano affirmait dans un communiqué du Service des Antiquités que les ostraca trouvés dans le complexe de temples de Narmouthis pendant la quatrième campagne de fouilles dirigées par lui-même “vont de l’époque d’Hadrien à celle de Commode”<sup>2</sup>. En effet, plusieurs ostraca de Narmouthis font allusion à l’époque des Antonins et incluent la mention de l’année de règne d’un empereur, calculée à partir de la première année d’accession de l’empereur au trône, ou parfois à partir du moment où l’empereur précède le prit comme corégent<sup>3</sup>. Cependant, dans la plupart des documents des archives de Narmouthis, à caractère non-officiel, le nom de l’empereur régnant n’est pas mentionné et, par conséquent, plusieurs possibilités de datation s’offrent. D’autres ostraca, même s’ils ne contiennent aucune année de règne, font allusion à des personnages connus et datés. Dans ce travail, nous recueillons les textes déjà publiés contenant différents éléments de datation afin de déterminer de la façon la plus précise possible la période de configuration des archives de Narmouthis.

\* Je remercie W. Clarysse pour ses précieuses remarques.

<sup>1</sup> Blasco Torres (2015) 351. Pour plus d’informations sur la composition des archives et les pourcentages des différents types de textes, cf. Blasco Torres (2015) 350-359.

<sup>2</sup> Vogliano (1939) 88. Cf. aussi Vanderpeij & Verreth (2015) 398-399.

<sup>3</sup> La deuxième année de règne commence toujours au 1<sup>er</sup> jour du mois de Thot. Cf. Depauw (1997) 163-164. D’autre part, les dates dans les ostraca de Narmouthis peuvent être mentionnées conformément aux deux calendriers qu’il y avait en Égypte à l’époque romaine jusqu’au III<sup>e</sup> siècle: le calendrier égyptien (cf. *ODN* I 27, *OGN* I 72) et le calendrier dit ‘grec’ (cf. *ODN* II 53). Cf. Gallo (1997) LIII; Depauw (1997) 165; Skeat (1993) 1-4.

## TEXTES DATABLES D'UNE MANIÈRE CERTAINE

Bien que l'année de règne mentionnée dans les textes ne soit pas généralement accompagnée du nom de l'empereur, il est possible de donner des possibilités de datation conformément aux critères suivants<sup>4</sup>:

- Les années 1-20 peuvent appartenir aux règnes d'Antonin le Pieux, Marc Aurèle, Commode (an 20) ou Septime Sévère (avec Caracalla à partir de l'an 198).
- Les années 21-24 peuvent appartenir aux règnes d'Antonin le Pieux, Commode ou Caracalla.
- Les années 25-33 réfèrent au règne de Commode.

Nous obtenons ainsi une date certaine pour les ostraca *ODN* I 1, 2, 7 et 16<sup>5</sup>, et *ODN* II 91, qui sont datés de l'an 27, nécessairement du règne de Commode (an 186/187), ainsi que pour *ODN* II 61, qui est daté de l'an 29 (règne de Commode, an 188/189). En plus, l'ostracon *ODN* I 26 est daté de l'an 20, qui peut correspondre au règne de quelques empereurs: Antonin le Pieux (an 156/157), Marc Aurèle/Commode (an 179/180), ou, moins probablement, Caracalla (an 211/212).

TEXTES POUR LESQUELS UN *TERMINUS POST QUEM* PEUT ÊTRE ÉTABLI (ANNEXE I)

Dans une centaine d'ostraca de Narmouthis, les données suivantes contenues dans les textes offrent un *terminus post quem* pour leur datation:

- Mention d'une année de règne avec ou sans le nom de l'empereur.
- Mention d'un fonctionnaire connu par d'autres textes et daté<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pestman (1967) 105-111; Sijpesteijn (1987) 72-73; Pinaudi & Sijpesteijn (1993) 12.

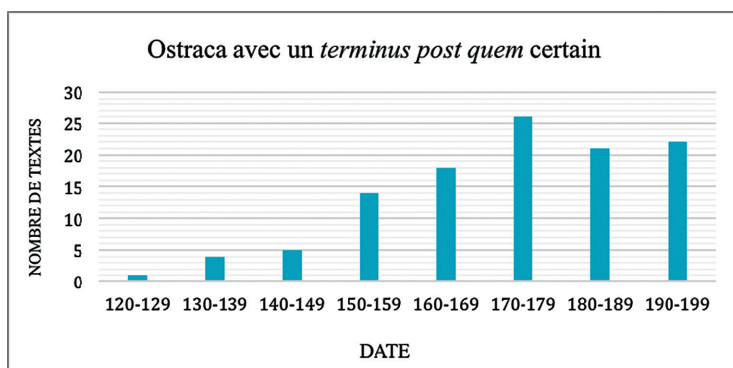
<sup>5</sup> Dans cet article, nous utilisons la manière de citation traditionnelle des ostraca de Narmouthis: *ODN* I – ostraca grecs de Narmouthis publiés dans Pinaudi & Sijpesteijn (1993); *ODN* II – ostraca démotiques de Narmouthis publiés dans Bresciani e.a. (1983); *ODN* III – ostraca démotiques de Narmouthis publiés dans Gallo (1997); *ODN* III – ostraca démotiques de Narmouthis publiés dans Menchetti (2005a); et *OMM* (ostraca de Médinet Madi).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Sempronius Liberalis (préfet, dans *ODN* I 29, *OMM* 423, *ODN* II 98), Calvisius Statianus (préfet, dans *ODN* III 136, *OMM* 354, *OMM* 174), Tineius Demetrius (préfet, dans *OMM* 1504), Veturius Macrinus (ex-préfet, dans *ODN* I 92), Φιλόξενος (stratège, dans *OMM* 1504, *ODN* III 176, *OMM* 1537), Ἀνουβίων (stratège, dans *OMM* 272), Marcus (stratège, cf. note 20), Iulius Lucullus (épistratège, dans *ODN* III 109), Flavius Valens (épistratège, dans *ODN* II 99), Ulpianus Serenianus (*archiereus*, dans *ODN* II 95, *ODN* III 123, *OMM* 951, *OMM* 1504, *OMM* CLXIII), Salvius Iulianus (*archiereus*, dans *ODN* III 137, *OMM* 23 + *OMM* 841 + *OMM* 813), Σεργήνος (*basilicogrammateus*, dans *ODN* III 135, *ODN* 179, *OMM* 1444). Quelques personnages, par contre, n'ont pas été identifiés. Cf. Ἀπολλώνιος νομόγραφος (*ODN* II 97), Ἀπολλώνιος νομογραμματοεὐς (*OMM* 600, ostracon inédit mentionné dans Bresciani & Pinaudi (1987) 124). Cf. Pinaudi & Sijpesteijn (1993) 12; Gallo (1997) LII.



- Dans le cas des textes astrologiques, il est possible d'établir un *terminus post quem* grâce à la mention de quelques dates mais aussi à des critères astronomiques. Les horoscopes incluent généralement la date de naissance de la personne pour laquelle l'horoscope a été réalisé et les positions du soleil, de la lune et des planètes à ce moment-là<sup>7</sup>. La mention d'une année de règne accompagnée de l'étude de la position planétaire mentionnée dans les textes permet d'identifier l'empereur et de fournir ainsi un *terminus post quem* d'une manière assez précise pour certains documents astrologiques.
- Mention d'événements qui peuvent être datés grâce à une confrontation avec d'autres textes. Ainsi, pour les actes juridiques réalisés par le scribe Phatrès, qui apparaissent dans les ostraca *OMM 1534*<sup>8</sup> et *OMM 5*<sup>9</sup>, la date *post quem* peut être établie grâce à l'ostrakon *OMM 1502*<sup>10</sup> (= *OGN I 103*), qui mentionne ces actes et les date de l'an 29 du règne de Commode (188/189); pour les plaintes sur la modification de la propriété immobilière des ostraca *OMM 1130*, *OMM 1397*, *OMM 1047* et *OMM 163*<sup>11</sup> (= *OGN I 127*), le *terminus post quem* peut être établi à partir de l'ostrakon *OMM CXXIV*<sup>12</sup>, qui fait référence à cette modification de la propriété et la date de l'an 32 du règne de Commode (191/192).

Sur le graphique suivant, nous représentons la distribution dans le temps des textes de Narmouthis avec un *terminus post quem* avéré (cf. annexe I)<sup>13</sup>:



<sup>7</sup> Ross (2006) 148-152.

<sup>8</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2009) 207-208.

<sup>9</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2009) 205-207.

<sup>10</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2009) 208-210.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Menchetti & Pintaudi (2007) 248-252.

<sup>12</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2007) 252-253.

<sup>13</sup> Un ostrakon a comme *terminus post quem* la période 120-129; 4, les années 130-139; 5, 140-149; 14, 150-159; 18, 160-169; 26, 170-179; 21, 180-189; et 22, 190-199.



Même si dans l'annexe I le *terminus post quem* de chaque texte est indiqué séparément, il faut considérer que l'ensemble de textes qui constitue le dossier du scribe Phatrès (*ODN* III 100-188, mais aussi d'autres documents)<sup>14</sup> pourrait avoir, en fait, un *terminus post quem* commun, qui correspondrait à l'an 194<sup>15</sup>.

#### TEXTES POUR LESQUELS LE *TERMINUS POST QUEM* EST INCERTAIN (ANNEXE II)

Une trentaine d'ostraca contiennent la mention d'une année de règne qui peut correspondre au règne de plusieurs empereurs; dans ce cas-ci, il n'est pas possible de connaître l'empereur auquel se réfèrent les années de règne mentionnées et, par conséquent, de fournir une date *post quem* certaine pour la datation des textes. Nous examinons les différentes possibilités dans l'annexe II.

#### TEXTE AVEC UN POSSIBLE *TERMINUS ANTE QUEM*

*OMM* 627<sup>16</sup> contient la mention de Διόσκορος γυμνασιάρχης, que les éditeurs identifient à Διόσκορος Ἀπολλωνίου γυμνασιαρχήσας στρατηγής<sup>17</sup>; ainsi, d'après eux, "il testo più recente è la registrazione di un versamento in artabe di grano a Dioskoros figlio di Apollonio, che ricopriva l'incarico di ginnasiarca della metropoli dell'Arsinoite negli anni precedenti il 210/211 d.C."<sup>18</sup>. Si Διόσκορος Ἀπολλωνίου γυμνασιαρχήσας στρατηγής, attesté comme stratège de l'Héliopolite<sup>19</sup>, est, comme il semble, la même personne que Διόσκορος γυμνασιάρχης, mentionné dans *OMM* 627, 210/211 serait le *terminus ante quem* pour ce document.

Les *termini post quem* les plus anciens des ostraca de Narmouthis sont, par conséquent, 124 et 130/131, mais le *terminus post quem* de

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Blasco Torres (2015) 352-353.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *ODN* III 176; Menchetti (2005a) 25. Cf. aussi Vandorpe & Verreth (2015) 399.

<sup>16</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2007) 243-244.

<sup>17</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2007) 244.

<sup>18</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2007) 228.

<sup>19</sup> Sijpesteijn (1986) 26-27. Cf. *P. Tebt.* II 313, 13-15.

la plupart des textes est postérieur à 150, et, principalement, à 170. Tous les documents datés de façon certaine remontent aux années 27 et 29 du règne de Commode (186/187 et 188/189). La fin des archives, d'autre part, n'est pas précisément connue. *OMM* 272<sup>20</sup> mentionne le stratège Anoubion, attesté en 199<sup>21</sup>, ainsi que l'an 7 du règne de Septime Sévère (an 198/199). Dans *ODN* II 92, on trouve la mention de Ἀρποκρατίων τὸν κατωλικόν. Les καθολικοί ne sont pas attestés avant le III<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>22</sup>. Il s'agit, sans doute, d'une des premières attestations de ces fonctionnaires en Égypte<sup>23</sup>. Même si la date de la fin des archives de Narmouthis ne peut être connue pour le moment, les textes datables d'une manière certaine et les ostraca avec un *terminus post quem* avéré révèlent qu'une grande partie des archives de Narmouthis s'est constituée durant la seconde moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.

<sup>20</sup> Dans Messeri & Pintaui (2002) 232-237. Grâce à *OMM* 272, il a été possible d'établir un *terminus ante quem* pour le stratège Marcus: dans cet ostracon, le scribe inclut la note adressée au stratège Anoubion, dans laquelle il décrit les actions juridiques réalisées auparavant, au temps du stratège Marcus. Étant donné que le stratège Anoubion est attesté en 199 (cf. Bastianini & Whitehorne (1987) 52), le stratège Marcus doit être antérieur à cette année. Marcus est aussi attesté dans *OMM* 1053 (cf. Menchetti (2005b) 238-239) et dans *ODN* II 95.

<sup>21</sup> Bastianini & Whitehorne (1987) 52.

<sup>22</sup> La mention d'un καθολικός dans *BGU* VII 1578, 6-7: ἱερωτάτου καθολικοῦ (ca. 212), est douteuse; cf. Parsons (1967) 138-139. Les premières attestations des καθολικοί semblent être: *P. Oxy.* XXXIII 2664, 1: Κλαυδίου Μ[αρ]κέλλου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ (ca. 245-248); *P. Lond.* III 1157 V (a), 5-6: Κλαυδίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ καθολικῷ, et 11 (246); *P. Oxy.* XVII 2123, 10-11: τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ Κλαυδίου Μαρκέλλου (247-248); *P. Oxy.* X 1260, 7-8: Οὐλπίου Κυρίλλου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ (286); *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2717, 8: ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολι[κοῦ] (294-297); *P. Merton* II 88 col. 1, 6: δια[σ]ημ[ο]τ[ά]του καθολ[ικοῦ] Αἰρηλίου Ἀσκληπιάδου (ca. 298-301); *P. Oxy.* IX 1204, 8-9: τὸν διασημοτάτον καθολικόν Πομπώνιον Δόμνον, 22, 23, 26 (299). Cf. Bowman (1976) 165: "The earliest definitely dated attestation is in 286 (*P. Oxy.* 1260), if we except the isolated case of Marcellus, a special appointment in the reign of Philip".

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Pintaui & Sijpesteijn (1993) 12; Lallemand (1964) 80-95; Parsons (1967) 138-139; Bowman (1976) 165.

### Annexe I: Textes avec un *terminus post quem* certain

Ostracon de Narmouthis	Datation ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
OMM 146 <sup>24</sup>	Probablement l'an 124 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 298 <sup>25</sup>	Mention de l'an 15 comme le moment où l'empereur Hadrien a été en Égypte (130/131)
OMM CCLVI <sup>26</sup>	Probablement l'an 131 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 680 <sup>27</sup>	Mention de τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ; le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 138 (date de la mort d'Hadrien)
OMM CCXXXIII <sup>28</sup>	Mention de l'an 3 d'Antonin le Pieux (139/140)
OMM 684 <sup>29</sup>	L'an 141 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 389 <sup>30</sup>	Probablement l'an 142 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 582 <sup>31</sup>	Probablement l'an 145 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 1066 <sup>32</sup>	L'an 146 conformément à des critères astronomiques
ODN III 120 (OMM 473)	Mention des années 11 et 12 du règne d'Antonin le Pieux (147/148 et 148/149); le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 148/149
OMM 868 <sup>33</sup>	Mention des années 4, 10, 11 et 15 d'Antonin le Pieux ( <i>p3 pr-3</i> , <i>p3 rmt ntr</i> ) (140/141, 146/147, 147/148 et 151/152). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 151/152
OMM 438 <sup>34</sup>	L'an 152 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OGN I 78 (OMM 295) + OGN I 79 (OMM 79) + OGN I 104 (OMM 787)	Mention des années 1 (137/138) et 16 (152/153) d'Antonin le Pieux (Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου); le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 152/153

<sup>24</sup> Ross (2007) 155-157.

<sup>25</sup> Menchetti (2004) 27-31.

<sup>26</sup> Ross (2011) 62-64.

<sup>27</sup> Ostracon mentionné dans Pintaui & Sijpesteijn (1993) 11.

<sup>28</sup> Ostracon inédit mentionné dans Menchetti (2006b) 114, note 2.

<sup>29</sup> Ross (2006) 161-162.

<sup>30</sup> Ross (2011) 64-66.

<sup>31</sup> Ross (2011) 71-73.

<sup>32</sup> Ross (2009a) 69-71.

<sup>33</sup> Menchetti (2009) 229; Menchetti (2006b) 114, note 2.

<sup>34</sup> Ross (2006) 163-166.

OMM 281 <sup>35</sup>	Mention de l'an 16 d'Antonin le Pieux (Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου); le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 152/153
OMM 285 <sup>36</sup>	L'an 153 conformément à des critères astronomiques
ODN I 29 <sup>37</sup>	Mention de Sempronius Liberalis, préfet d'Égypte attesté de l'an 154 à l'an 159 <sup>38</sup> ; le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 154
OMM 423 <sup>39</sup>	Mention de l'an 3 (probablement du règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 139/140) et de Sempronius Liberalis, préfet d'Égypte attesté de l'an 154 à l'an 159 <sup>40</sup> ; le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 154
ODN II 98 (OMM 122)	Mention des années 17 et 18 et de Sempronius Liberalis, préfet d'Égypte attesté de l'an 154 à l'an 159 <sup>41</sup> ; le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 154/155 (an 18 du règne d'Antonin le Pieux)
OMM 1187 <sup>42</sup>	L'an 155 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 722 <sup>43</sup>	Mention de l'an 19 d'Antonin le Pieux (ἄντωνν πρ ρμτ ντρ) (155/156)
OMM 251 <sup>44</sup>	L'an 156 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 199 <sup>45</sup>	Probablement l'an 157 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 1041 <sup>46</sup>	L'an 158 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 1412 <sup>47</sup>	L'an 159 conformément à des critères astronomiques
ODN III 115 (OMM 72)	Mention des années 8 (144/145), 18 (154/155) et 21 (157/158) de θεοῦ Αἰλίου (Antonin le Pieux). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 161 (date de sa mort)
ODN III 143 (OMM 1371)	Mention des années 16 et 18 de θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 152/153 et 154/155). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 161 (date de sa mort)

<sup>35</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2009) 213.

<sup>36</sup> Ross (2006) 162-163.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. aussi Pintaudi & Sijpesteijn (1993) 11.

<sup>38</sup> Bastianini (1975) 292-294; Bastianini (1980) 82.

<sup>39</sup> Menchetti (2009) 231-232.

<sup>40</sup> Bastianini (1975) 292-294; Bastianini (1980) 82.

<sup>41</sup> Bastianini (1975) 292-294; Bastianini (1980) 82.

<sup>42</sup> Ross (2007) 166-169.

<sup>43</sup> Ostrakon inédit mentionné dans Menchetti (2006b) 114, note 2.

<sup>44</sup> Ross (2009a) 74-77.

<sup>45</sup> Ross (2007) 158-161.

<sup>46</sup> Ross (2009a) 66-68.

<sup>47</sup> Ross (2006) 166-167.

<i>ODN III 186 (OMM 1370)</i> <sup>48</sup>	Mention de l'an 16 de θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ (112/113), des années 8 et 9 de θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου (144/145 et 145/146), et, probablement, de l'an 1 de Marc Aurèle (160/161). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 161
<i>OMM 47</i> <sup>49</sup>	Mention de l'an 3 de θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 139/140). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 161 (date de sa mort)
<i>OMM 80</i> <sup>50</sup>	Mention de l'an 18 de θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 154/155). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 161 (date de sa mort)
<i>OMM 770</i> <sup>51</sup>	Mention de l'an 22 de θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 161 (date de sa mort)
<i>OMM 897</i> <sup>52</sup>	Mention de l'an 23 de θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 159/160). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 161 (date de sa mort)
<i>OMM 943</i> <sup>53</sup>	Mention de l'an 23 de θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου (Antonin le Pieux, 159/160) et de l'an 1 de Marc Aurèle (160/161). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 161, aussi conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM 1005</i> <sup>54</sup>	L'an 161 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM 1166</i> <sup>55</sup>	Mention des années 2 et 4 de θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου (Antonin le Pieux, 138/139 et 140/141). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 161 (date de sa mort)
<i>ODN III 150 (OMM 1250)</i>	Mention de l'an 3, probablement de Marc Aurèle (162/163)
<i>OMM 74</i> <sup>56</sup>	L'an 165 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM 676</i> <sup>57</sup> (= <i>ODN I 28</i> )	L'an 165 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM 1545</i> <sup>58</sup>	L'an 165 conformément à des critères astronomiques

<sup>48</sup> Cf. aussi Donadoni (1955) 79.

<sup>49</sup> Ostrakon inédit mentionné dans Menchetti (2006b) 114, note 2.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. note 49.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. note 49.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. note 49.

<sup>53</sup> Ross (2009a) 77-79.

<sup>54</sup> Ross (2009a) 79-80.

<sup>55</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 234.

<sup>56</sup> Ross (2009a) 81-84.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. aussi Menchetti (2009) 235-236.

<sup>58</sup> Menchetti (2009) 236-237.

<i>ODN III 151 (OMM CLXXIX)</i>	Mention des années 1 (160/161), 2 (161/162), 3 (162/163) et 6 (165/166) de Marc Aurèle. Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 165/166
<i>OMM 508</i> <sup>59</sup>	L'an 168 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM 1259</i> <sup>60</sup>	L'an 168 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM 686 + 511</i> <sup>61</sup>	L'an 169 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>ODN III 136 (OMM 180)</i>	Mention de Calvisius Statianus, préfet d'Égypte attesté de l'an 170 à l'an 175 <sup>62</sup> . Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 170
<i>OMM 354</i> <sup>63</sup>	Mention de Calvisius Statianus, préfet d'Égypte attesté de l'an 170 à l'an 175 <sup>64</sup> . Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 170
<i>OMM 714</i> <sup>65</sup>	Mention de Calvisius Statianus, préfet d'Égypte attesté de l'an 170 à l'an 175 <sup>66</sup> . Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 170
<i>OMM 1335</i> <sup>67</sup>	L'an 170 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>ODN II 95 (OMM 484)</i>	Possible mention du stratège Marcus (antérieur à l'an 199 <sup>68</sup> ) et mention d'Ulpius Serenianus, <i>archiereus</i> attesté en 171, 174, 178 et 193 <sup>69</sup> ; le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 171
<i>ODN III 123 (OMM 803)</i>	Mention d'Ulpius Serenianus, <i>archiereus</i> attesté en 171, 174, 178 et 193 <sup>70</sup> . Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 171
<i>OMM 951</i> <sup>71</sup>	Mention d'Ulpius Serenianus, <i>archiereus</i> attesté en 171, 174, 178 et 193 <sup>72</sup> ; le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 171
<i>OMM 1154</i> <sup>73</sup>	L'an 171 conformément à des critères astronomiques

<sup>59</sup> Ross (2007) 163-164.

<sup>60</sup> Ross (2007) 165-166.

<sup>61</sup> Ross (2009a) 84-86.

<sup>62</sup> Bastianini (1975) 298; Bastianini (1980) 83.

<sup>63</sup> Bresciani e.a. (2009) 43-44.

<sup>64</sup> Bastianini (1975) 298; Bastianini (1980) 83.

<sup>65</sup> Ostrakon inédit mentionné dans Bresciani & Pintaudi (1987) 124.

<sup>66</sup> Bastianini (1975) 298; Bastianini (1980) 83.

<sup>67</sup> Ross (2009a) 61-65.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. note 20.

<sup>69</sup> Parássoglou (1974) 36; Parsons (1974) 135.

<sup>70</sup> Parássoglou (1974) 36; Parsons (1974) 135.

<sup>71</sup> Bresciani e.a. (2009) 44-45.

<sup>72</sup> Parássoglou (1974) 36; Parsons (1974) 135.

<sup>73</sup> Ross (2011) 66-67.

<i>OMM</i> 1504 <sup>74</sup>	Mention de Φιλόξενος, stratège des <i>mérides</i> de Polémôn et de Thémistos attesté de l'an 194 à l'an 196 <sup>75</sup> ; d'Ulpius Serenianus, <i>archiereus</i> attesté en 171, 174, 178 et 193 <sup>76</sup> ; et de Tineius Demetrius, préfet attesté de l'an 189 à l'an 190 <sup>77</sup> . Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 171
<i>ODN</i> III 129 ( <i>OMM</i> 1497)	Mention de l'an 13 de Marc Aurèle (172/173)
<i>ODN</i> III 109 ( <i>OMM</i> 55)	Mention d'Iulius Lucullus, épistratège attesté en 173 <sup>78</sup>
<i>OMM</i> 1060 <sup>79</sup>	L'an 173 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 1514 <sup>80</sup> (= <i>OGN</i> I 103)	Mention de l'an 14 de Marc Aurèle (173/174)
<i>OMM</i> 383 <sup>81</sup>	L'an 174 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 65 <sup>82</sup>	L'an 174/175 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> XXIX <sup>83</sup>	L'an 175 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 224 <sup>84</sup>	L'an 175 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 1208 <sup>85</sup>	Probablement l'an 175 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>ODN</i> III 149 ( <i>OMM</i> 1155)	Mention des années 9-16 de Marc Aurèle (168/169-175/176). Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 175/176
<i>OMM</i> 1233 <sup>86</sup>	Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 175/176, la date pendant laquelle Marc Aurèle visita Alexandrie
<i>ODN</i> III 128 ( <i>OMM</i> 1421)	Mention des années 15 (174/175) et 17 (176/177) de Marc Aurèle; le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 176/177
<i>OMM</i> 969 <sup>87</sup>	L'an 177 conformément à des critères astronomiques

<sup>74</sup> Mentionné dans Gallo (1997) XLVII-XLIX, et Menchetti (2005a) 16. Cf. aussi Pintaui & Sijpesteijn (1993) 11.

<sup>75</sup> Bastianini & Whitehorne (1987) 52.

<sup>76</sup> Parássoglou (1974) 36; Parsons (1974) 135.

<sup>77</sup> Bastianini (1975) 303.

<sup>78</sup> Thomas (1982) 189.

<sup>79</sup> Ross (2011) 68-70.

<sup>80</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2009) 210-212.

<sup>81</sup> Ross (2006) 173-177.

<sup>82</sup> Menchetti (2009) 232-233.

<sup>83</sup> Ross (2009a) 71-73.

<sup>84</sup> Ross (2007) 162-163.

<sup>85</sup> Ross (2011) 52-56.

<sup>86</sup> Menchetti (2006b) 113-117.

<sup>87</sup> Ross (2006) 171-173.

ODN III 177 (OMM 1471)	Mention de l'an 18 du règne de Marc Aurèle (177/178)
OMM 972 <sup>88</sup>	L'an 178 conformément à des critères astronomiques
ODN II 99 (OMM 464) <sup>89</sup>	Mention de l'an 17 (du règne de Marc Aurèle, 176/177) et de l'épistratège Flavius Valens, attesté en 179 <sup>90</sup> ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
OMM 374 <sup>91</sup>	L'an 179 conformément à des critères astronomiques
ODN III 139 (OMM 584)	Mention de l'an 22 du règne de Commode (181/182)
OGN I 92	Mention de l'an 21 (règne de Commode, 180/181) et de l'ex-préfet Veturius Macrinus, attesté de l'an 181 à l'an 183 <sup>92</sup> . Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 183
OMM 312 <sup>93</sup>	L'an 184 conformément à des critères astronomiques
OMM 87 <sup>94</sup>	Mention de l'an 13 du règne d'Antonin le Pieux (149/150) ou de Marc Aurèle (172/173) et de l'an 25 du règne de Commode (184/185) ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
OMM 234 <sup>95</sup>	Mention des années 3 (Antonin le Pieux, 139/140; Marc Aurèle, 162/163; ou Septime Sévère, 194/195), 20 (Antonin le Pieux, 156/157; Marc Aurèle, 179/180; Commode, 179/180), et 25 (règne de Commode, 184/185) ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
OMM 847 <sup>96</sup>	Mention de l'an 25 du règne de Commode (184/185)
OMM 1475 <sup>97</sup>	Mention de l'an 19 d'Antonin le Pieux (155/156) ou de Marc Aurèle (178/179) <sup>98</sup> et de l'an 25 du règne de Commode (184/185) ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
ODN III 137 (OMM CXV)	Mention de Salvius Iulianus, attesté comme <i>archiereus</i> en 185 <sup>99</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Ross (2006) 158-161.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. aussi Donadoni (1955) 78-79.

<sup>90</sup> Thomas (1982) 189. Cf. aussi Daris (1983) 122-128.

<sup>91</sup> Ross (2009a) 86-88.

<sup>92</sup> Bastianini (1975) 300; Bastianini (1980) 84.

<sup>93</sup> Ross (2009a) 88-89.

<sup>94</sup> Baccani (1989) 71; *SB* XX 14191.

<sup>95</sup> Menchetti (2009) 230.

<sup>96</sup> Menchetti (2009) 227.

<sup>97</sup> Menchetti (2005b) 239-240.

<sup>98</sup> La mention Ἀντ(ωνίνου) peut faire référence non seulement à Antonin le Pieux, mais aussi à Marc Aurèle. Cf. Bureth (1964) 65-84; Grenier (1989) 60-70.

<sup>99</sup> Parássoglou (1974) 36.



<i>OMM</i> 23 + <i>OMM</i> 841 + <i>OMM</i> 813 <sup>100</sup>	Mention de Salvius Iulianus (Ἰουλιανὸς γενόμενος ἀρχιερεὺς), attesté comme <i>archiereus</i> en 185 <sup>101</sup>
<i>OMM</i> 1108 <sup>102</sup>	Mention de l'an 27 du règne de Commode (186/187)
<i>OMM</i> 1463 <sup>103</sup> (= <i>ODN</i> I 22)	Mention des années 24 (183/184), 25 (184/185) et 27 (186/187) du règne de Commode ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
<i>OMM</i> 134 <sup>104</sup>	Probablement l'an 187 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 503 <sup>105</sup>	L'an 187 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 960 <sup>106</sup>	L'an 187 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 1331 <sup>107</sup>	L'an 187 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 521 <sup>108</sup>	Mention des années 19 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 155/156; Marc Aurèle, 178/179; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 210/211), 27 (règne de Commode, 186/187) et 28 (règne de Commode, 187/188) ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
<i>OMM</i> 933 <sup>109</sup>	Mention de l'an 28 du règne de Commode (187/188)
<i>OMM</i> 5 <sup>110</sup>	Référence à des événements de 188/189
<i>OMM</i> 1248 <sup>111</sup>	Mention de l'an 29 du règne de Commode (188/189)
<i>OMM</i> 1502 (= <i>OGN</i> I 103) <sup>112</sup>	Mention de l'an 17 (règne de Marc Aurèle, 176/177) et 29 (règne de Commode, 188/189) ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
<i>OMM</i> 1534 <sup>113</sup>	Référence à des événements de 188/189
<i>ODN</i> III 135 ( <i>OMM</i> 801)	Mention de Σεργῆνος, <i>basilicogrammateus</i> de la <i>méris</i> de Polémôn attesté en 190 <sup>114</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Vogliano e.a. (1953) 510-511; *SB* XVIII 13730.

<sup>101</sup> Parássoglou (1974) 36.

<sup>102</sup> Menchetti (2009) 228-229; *SB* XXII 15294; Baccani (1995) 71.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. aussi Menchetti (2009) 228.

<sup>104</sup> Ross (2011) 56-62.

<sup>105</sup> Ross (2009a) 90-91.

<sup>106</sup> Ross (2006) 168-170; *SB* XXII 15293; Baccani (1995) 69-71.

<sup>107</sup> Ross (2011) 47-49.

<sup>108</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 237-238; *SB* XXII 15290; Baccani (1995) 67-68.

<sup>109</sup> Giannotti & Gorini (2006) 124.

<sup>110</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2009) 205-207.

<sup>111</sup> Baccani (1995) 72; *SB* XXII 15296.

<sup>112</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2009) 208-210; *SB* XXVI 16385; Messeri & Pintaui (2001) 267.

<sup>113</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2009) 207-208.

<sup>114</sup> Bastianini & Whitehorne (1987) 131.

<i>ODN III 179 (OMM 1351)</i>	Mention de Σερχῆνος, <i>basilicogrammateus</i> de la <i>méris</i> de Polémôn attesté en 190 <sup>115</sup>
<i>OMM 1444</i> <sup>116</sup>	Mention des années 18 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 154/155; Marc Aurèle, 177/178; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 209/210), 22 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159; ou règne de Commode, 181/182), 23 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 159/160; ou règne de Commode, 182/183), et 25 (règne de Commode, 184/185), et mention de Σερχῆνος, <i>basilicogrammateus</i> de la <i>méris</i> de Polémôn attesté en 190 <sup>117</sup> ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
<i>OMM 1300</i> <sup>118</sup>	Mention des années 17 et 19 de Marc Aurèle (176/177 et 178/179) et de l'an 31 de Commode (190/191) ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
<i>ODN I 27 (OMM 1156)</i>	Mention de l'an 9 d'Antonin le Pieux (145/146) ou de Marc Aurèle (168/169) ( <i>3ntnn</i> ) <sup>119</sup> et de l'an 32 de Commode (191/192) ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
<i>OMM CXXIV</i> <sup>120</sup>	Mention de l'an 32 du règne de Commode (191/192)
<i>OMM 163</i> <sup>121</sup> (= <i>OGN I 127</i> )	Référence à des événements de l'an 191/192
<i>OMM 545</i> <sup>122</sup>	Mention de l'an 32 du règne de Commode (191/192)
<i>OMM 858</i> <sup>123</sup>	Mention des années 22 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159; ou, plus probablement, de Commode, 181/182), 25 (règne de Commode, 184/185) et 32 (règne de Commode, 191/192) ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
<i>OMM 1047</i> <sup>124</sup>	Référence à des événements de l'an 191/192
<i>OMM 1095</i> <sup>125</sup>	Mention de l'an 32 du règne de Commode (191/192)
<i>OMM 1130</i> <sup>126</sup>	Référence à des événements de l'an 191/192
<i>OMM 1397</i> <sup>127</sup>	Référence à des événements de l'an 191/192

<sup>115</sup> Bastianini & Whitehorne (1987) 131.

<sup>116</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 232-234.

<sup>117</sup> Bastianini & Whitehorne (1987) 131.

<sup>118</sup> Partie inédite d'*OMM 1300* mentionné dans Menchetti (2006b) 116, note 16.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. note 98.

<sup>120</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 252-253.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. aussi Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 248-249; Pintaui & Sijpesteijn (1989) 87.

<sup>122</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2009) 222; *SB XXII* 15291; Baccani (1995) 68.

<sup>123</sup> Ostrakon inédit mentionné dans Menchetti (2006b) 116, note 16.

<sup>124</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 249-250.

<sup>125</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 241-242.

<sup>126</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 251-252.

<sup>127</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 250-251.

<i>OMM</i> CLXIII <sup>128</sup>	Mention de l'an 1 (règne de Septime Sévère, 192/193) et d'Ulpus Serenianus, <i>archiereus</i> attesté en 171, 174, 178 et 193 <sup>129</sup> ; le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 192/193
<i>OMM</i> 687 <sup>130</sup>	Mention de l'an 16 (règne de Marc Aurèle, 175/176) et de l'an 33 (règne de Commode, 192/193); le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 192/193
<i>OMM</i> 782 <sup>131</sup>	Mention des années 26 et 33 du règne de Commode (185/186 et 192/193); le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 192/193
<i>OMM</i> 1198 <sup>132</sup>	L'an 192/193 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>ODN</i> III 176 ( <i>OMM</i> 1398)	Mention de Φιλόξενος, stratège des <i>mérides</i> de Polémôn et de Thémistos attesté de l'an 194 à l'an 196 <sup>133</sup> . Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 194
<i>OMM</i> 1537 <sup>134</sup>	Mention de Φιλόξενος, stratège des <i>mérides</i> de Polémôn et de Thémistos attesté de l'an 194 à l'an 196 <sup>135</sup> . Le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 194
<i>OMM</i> 842 <sup>136</sup>	L'an 195 conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 1010 <sup>137</sup>	Mention de l'an 4 de Septime Sévère (195/196); le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 196, aussi conformément à des critères astronomiques
<i>OMM</i> 272 <sup>138</sup>	Mention du stratège Marcus et du stratège Ἀνουβίων, attesté en 199 <sup>139</sup> , et de l'an 7 (règne de Septime Sévère, 198/199); le <i>terminus post quem</i> est 199

<sup>128</sup> Bresciani e.a. (2009) 41-43.

<sup>129</sup> Parássoglou (1974) 36; Parsons (1974) 135.

<sup>130</sup> Menchetti (2009) 234-235.

<sup>131</sup> Menchetti (2009) 231.

<sup>132</sup> Menchetti (2009) 233-234.

<sup>133</sup> Bastianini & Whitehorne (1987) 52.

<sup>134</sup> Vogliano e.a. (1953) 513-514; *SB* XVIII 13733. Cf. aussi Pintaui & Sijpesteijn (1993) 12.

<sup>135</sup> Bastianini & Whitehorne (1987) 52.

<sup>136</sup> Ross (2011) 49-51.

<sup>137</sup> Menchetti (2003) 27-28; Ross (2009b) 299-304.

<sup>138</sup> Messeri & Pintaui (2002) 232-237.

<sup>139</sup> Bastianini & Whitehorne (1987) 52.

**Annexe II: Textes avec un *terminus post quem* incertain**

Ostracon de Narmouthis	Possibilités de datation ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )
OGN I 122 (OMM 1473 + 1507) <sup>140</sup>	Mention de l'an 2 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 138/139; Marc Aurèle, 161/162; ou Septime Sévère, 193/194)
OMM 346 <sup>141</sup>	Mention de l'an 3 de Ἀντῶ(νίβου) (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 139/140; ou Marc Aurèle, 162/163) <sup>142</sup>
OGN I 61 (OMM 1114)	Mention de l'an 4 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 140/141; Marc Aurèle, 163/164; ou Septime Sévère, 195/196)
ODN II 53 (OMM 208)	Mention de l'an 5 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 141/142; Marc Aurèle, 164/165; ou Septime Sévère, 196/197)
OGN I 60 (OMM 173)	Mention de l'an 5 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 141/142; Marc Aurèle, 164/165; ou Septime Sévère, 196/197)
OMM 804 <sup>143</sup>	Mention de l'an 5 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 141/142; Marc Aurèle, 164/165; ou Septime Sévère, 196/197)
ODN II 84 (OMM 409)	Mention de l'an 8 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 144/145; Marc Aurèle, 167/168; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 199/200)
ODN III 168 (OMM 1300)	Mention de l'an 8 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 144/145; Marc Aurèle, 167/168; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 199/200)
OGN I 108 (OMM 516)	Mention des années 8 et 9 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 144/145 et 145/146; Marc Aurèle, 167/168 et 168/169; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 199/200 et 200/201)
OGN I 16 (OMM 1523)	Mention de l'an 10 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 146/147; Marc Aurèle, 169/170; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 201/202)
OMM 120 <sup>144</sup>	Mention de l'an 11 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 147/148; Marc Aurèle, 170/171; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 202/203)
ODN III 127 (OMM 1375)	Mention de l'an 12 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 148/149; Marc Aurèle, 171/172; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 203/204)

<sup>140</sup> Cf. aussi SB XXVI 16411; Messeri & Pintaudi (2001) 277.

<sup>141</sup> Baccani (1989) 72-74; SB XX 14193.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. note 98.

<sup>143</sup> Giannotti & Gorini (2006) 122-124.

<sup>144</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2009) 225; Menchetti & Pintaudi (2007) 235.

<i>OGN I 62 (OMM 401)</i> <sup>145</sup>	Mention de l'an 12 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 148/149; Marc Aurèle, 171/172; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 203/204)
<i>OMM 177</i> <sup>146</sup>	Mention de l'an 13 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 149/150; Marc Aurèle, 172/173; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 204/205)
<i>OMM 269</i> <sup>147</sup>	Mention de l'an 13 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 149/150; Marc Aurèle, 172/173; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 204/205)
<i>OGN I 85 (OMM 1100)</i>	Mention des années 13 et 15 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 149/150 et 151/152; Marc Aurèle, 172/173 et 174/175; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 204/205 et 206/207)
<i>OMM 297</i> <sup>148</sup>	Mention de l'an 15 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 151/152; Marc Aurèle, 174/175; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 206/207)
<i>OGN I 47</i> <sup>149</sup>	Mention de l'an 18 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 154/155; Marc Aurèle, 177/178; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 209/210)
<i>OMM 149</i> <sup>150</sup>	Mention de l'an 19 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 155/156; Marc Aurèle, 178/179; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 210/211)
<i>OMM 822</i> <sup>151</sup>	Mention de l'an 19 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 155/156; Marc Aurèle, 178/179; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 210/211)
<i>OMM 1346</i> <sup>152</sup>	Mention de l'an 19 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 155/156; Marc Aurèle, 178/179; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 210/211)
<i>OMM 633</i> <sup>153</sup>	Mention des années 18 et 20 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 154/155 et 156/157; Marc Aurèle, 177/178 et 179/180; Commode, 179/180; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 209/210 et 211/212)

<sup>145</sup> Cf. aussi *SB XXVI* 16378; Messeri & Pintaui (2001) 261.

<sup>146</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 235.

<sup>147</sup> Baccani (1989) 72; *SB XX* 14192.

<sup>148</sup> Baccani (1995) 66-67; *SB XXII* 15289.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. aussi *SB XXVI* 16371; Messeri & Pintaui (2001) 257.

<sup>150</sup> Baccani (1995) 65; *SB XXII* 15287.

<sup>151</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 236.

<sup>152</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 237.

<sup>153</sup> Baccani (1989) 75-76; *SB XX* 14195.

<i>OMM</i> 750 <sup>154</sup>	Mention des années 8 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 144/145; Marc Aurèle, 167/168; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 199/200), 11 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 147/148; Marc Aurèle, 170/171; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 202/203), 13 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 149/150; Marc Aurèle, 172/173; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 204/205); et 21 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 157/158; Commode, 180/181; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 212/213)
<i>OMM</i> 1209 <sup>155</sup>	Mention de l'an 21 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 157/158; Commode, 180/181; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 212/213)
<i>OGN</i> I 112 <sup>156</sup>	Mention des années 11 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 147/148; Marc Aurèle, 170/171; ou Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 202/203) et 22 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159; Commode, 181/182; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 213/214)
<i>OMM</i> CLI <sup>157</sup>	Mention de l'an 22 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159; Commode, 181/182; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 213/214)
<i>OMM</i> 292 <sup>158</sup>	Mention des années 19 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 155/156; Marc Aurèle, 178/179; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 210/211) et 22 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159; Commode, 181/182; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 213/214)
<i>OMM</i> 475 <sup>159</sup>	Mention de l'an 22 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159; Commode, 181/182; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 213/214)
<i>OMM</i> 561 <sup>160</sup>	Mention de l'an 22 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159; Commode, 181/182; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 213/214).
<i>OMM</i> 1104 <sup>161</sup>	Mention de l'an 22 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159; Commode, 181/182; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 213/214).

<sup>154</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 236; *SB* XXII 15292; Baccani (1995) 68-69.

<sup>155</sup> Baccani (1995) 71-72; *SB* XXII 15295.

<sup>156</sup> *SB* XXVI 16387; Messeri & Pintaui (2001) 268-269.

<sup>157</sup> Bresciani e.a. (2009) 46.

<sup>158</sup> Menchetti (2009) 228; *SB* XXII 15288; Baccani (1995) 65-66.

<sup>159</sup> Menchetti (2003) 24-25.

<sup>160</sup> Menchetti & Pintaui (2007) 238-239; *SB* XX 14194; Baccani (1989) 74-75.

<sup>161</sup> Menchetti (2006a) 65-67.

<i>OMM</i> 1148 <sup>162</sup>	Mention de l'an 22 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 158/159; Commode, 181/182; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 213/214)
<i>OGN</i> I 82 ( <i>OMM</i> 81 + 106) <sup>163</sup>	Mention des années 23 et 24 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 159/160 et 160/161; Commode, 182/183 et 183/184; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 214/215 et 215/216)
<i>OGN</i> I 93 <sup>164</sup>	Mention des années 21 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 157/158; Commode, 180/181; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 212/213) et 24 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 160/161; Commode, 183/184; ou, moins probablement, Caracalla, 215/216)
<i>OMM</i> 1481 <sup>165</sup>	Mention des années 19 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 155/156; Marc Aurèle, 178/179; ou, moins probablement, Septime Sévère et Caracalla, 210/211), et 24 (règne d'Antonin le Pieux, 160/161; Commode, 183/184; ou, moins probablement, règne de Caracalla, 215/216)

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<sup>162</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2009) 221-222.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. aussi *SB* XXVI 16403; Messeri & Pintaudi (2001) 274-275.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. aussi *SB* XXVI 16382; Messeri & Pintaudi (2001) 266-267.

<sup>165</sup> Menchetti & Pintaudi (2007) 238; *SB* XX 14196; Baccani (1989) 76-77.

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## LATEINISCHE INSCRIFTEN AUS DEM THERMENMUSEUM IN HEERLEN (NIEDERLANDE)\*

*Abstract:* This article contains the first edition of four inscriptions from *Coriovallum*/Heerlen and of another inscription of unknown provenance. No. 1 is a *tessera militaris* that attests the presence of soldiers at *Coriovallum*. In the commentary on this piece the various forms of owners' inscriptions on such nameplates are discussed. No. 2 is a fragment of an altar for Fortuna from the bathhouse of *Coriovallum*. Together with other attestations for the local cult of this goddess, it may provide evidence that the bathhouse was frequented by soldiers and veterans and used for medical treatment. No. 3 is a leaden label that attests the sale or delivery of 30 kilo of a bark product (*corticium*: a new word) that may be related to tannery. Nos. 4 (from *Coriovallum*) and 5 (of unknown provenance) are pieces of military equipment with indications of the owners' identities.

An der Stelle des heutigen Heerlen (Niederlande, Provinz Limburg) lag in der Antike der *vicus Coriovallum*, der auf die augusteische Zeit zurückgeht.<sup>1</sup> Er befand sich an der Kreuzung der Fernstraßen von Köln nach Boulogne-sur-Mer und von Xanten nach Trier. Ab einem unbekannten Zeitpunkt gehörte *Coriovallum* allem Anschein nach administrativ zu Xanten (*Colonia Ulpia Traiana*, gegründet zwischen 98 und 100).<sup>2</sup> Seiner Lage verdankt es der Ort wahrscheinlich, daß dort wohl schon in der Mitte des 1. Jh.s n.Chr. große Thermen errichtet wurden, die 1940 entdeckt wurden und deren Reste heute das größte römische Gebäude der Niederlande darstellen. Zwei Spitzgräben, die auch das Thermenterrain einschlossen, waren Teil einer Befestigungsanlage, deren verschiedene Bauphasen und

\* Wir danken an dieser Stelle ganz herzlich Dr. Karen Jeneson, der Kuratorin des Thermenmuseums in Heerlen, für die Erlaubnis, diese Inschriften zu untersuchen und zu publizieren. Sie hat uns bei unseren Forschungen unermüdlich mit Rat und Tat unterstützt und wertvolle Hinweise auf unpubliziertes Material im Thermenmuseum beige-steuert. Für Hinweise und Diskussionen danken wir auch Dr. Wim Dijkman (Maastricht), Dr. Carol van Driel-Murray (Leiden), Dr. Maaïke Groot (FU Berlin), Prof. Dr. Matthäus Heil (Berlin, *CIL*), Dr. Dr. Stefanie Hoss (Köln), PD Dr. Stefan F. Pfahl (Düsseldorf), Dr. Marcus Reuter (Trier), Dr. Andreas Schaub (Aachen), Prof. Dr. Klaus Scherberich (Aachen), Prof. Dr. Markus Scholz (Frankfurt am Main) und Dr. Gilbert Soeters (Maastricht).

<sup>1</sup> Zum römischen *Coriovallum* im Folgenden s. Bogaers (1959) 148-151, 157-159; Bogaers (1974); Eggen (1988-1989); Dodt (2013) 161-169; Jeneson (2015) v.a. 166-169; Panhuysen (2015) v.a. 88-91, 97-98. Zum Straßennetz der Germania Inferior siehe Rathmann (2004).

<sup>2</sup> Dies die allgemeine Annahme aufgrund von *AE* 1926, 130 und 131 = *AE* 2011, 806 und 807; *AE* 1959, 9; vgl. z.B. van Hommerich (1961) 18-20; Nesselhauf & Lieb (1959) 210; Schalles (2008) 333; Panhuysen (2015) 88-91.

Bedeutung noch nicht geklärt sind.<sup>3</sup> Die Lokalisierung eines oder mehrerer Kastelle an dieser Stelle, wie sie in der älteren Forschung vertreten wurde, hat sich inzwischen als falsch erwiesen. Reste einer Ummauerung wurden in Heerlen bisher nicht entdeckt. Man vermutet bisweilen, unter anderem aufgrund der verkehrstechnischen Lage, daß sich dort eine *statio* des *cursus publicus* befand, und schließt daraus auf die Anwesenheit von Benefiziarern (siehe dazu unten). Grundsätzlich sieht man in dem Ort aber eine primär zivile Siedlung, die insbesondere von Betrieben zur Versorgung Reisender und von Handwerksbetrieben, v.a. Töpfereien, gekennzeichnet gewesen sei. Von letzteren muß es dort viele gegeben haben, da bisher etwa 50 Töpfereien im Stadtgebiet von Heerlen ans Licht gekommen sind. Das Umland war von Villenwirtschaft gekennzeichnet, die in großem Umfang im heutigen Limburg nachgewiesen ist.<sup>4</sup> Diese landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe verdankten ihre Existenz dem fruchtbaren Lößboden in dieser Region, ihre Produktion diente wohl primär der Versorgung der entlang der Rheingrenze stationierten Truppen.

Seit dem 19. Jh. wurden in Heerlen und seinem Umland lateinische Inschriften entdeckt, die sich heute zum Großteil im Thermenmuseum in Heerlen befinden.<sup>5</sup> Zu den Inschriften aus Heerlen selbst gehören die Grabinschrift des M. Iulius, eines Veteranen der 5. Legion (*Vetera*), aus der Zeit vor 40 v.Chr.,<sup>6</sup> die Grabinschrift für eine einheimische Frau,<sup>7</sup> die Weihinschrift zu Ehren der Fortuna, die M. Sattonius Iucundus anlässlich der von ihm finanzierten Renovierung der Thermen errichten ließ,<sup>8</sup> der Okulistenstempel des L. Iunius Macrinus,<sup>9</sup> zahlreiche Graffiti und Stempel auf Töpferware<sup>10</sup> sowie einige Ziegelstempel.<sup>11</sup> Neben diesen publi-

<sup>3</sup> Unterschiedliche Ansichten in Bogaers (1959) 148-151; Eggen (1988-1989) 133-134, 54-56; Panhuysen (2015) 106, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Zum Umland s. Jenson (2015).

<sup>5</sup> Z.B. *CIL* XIII 8711; 10021.109; *AE* 1959, 9 (dazu s. unten, S. 236-237); *AE* 1997, 1155.

<sup>6</sup> *CIL* XIII 8711; s. unten, S. 231.

<sup>7</sup> Tummers (1960); eine Neuedition in Minis & Schorn (im Erscheinen), Nr. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *AE* 1959, 9; eine Neuedition in Minis & Schorn (im Erscheinen), Nr. 2; s. unten, S. 236-237.

<sup>9</sup> *CIL* XIII 10021.109; s. unten, S. 239.

<sup>10</sup> Z.B. *AE* 1997, 1155. Für weitere solche Texte, die in den allermeisten Fällen nicht in *CIL*, *AE* oder *EDCS* aufgenommen sind, s. [www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org) unter Heerlen.

<sup>11</sup> Es handelt sich um Ziegelstempel der 30. Legion aus *Vetera* und der privaten Ziegelproduzenten *CTEC* und *MHF*. Einige Stempel sind publiziert oder erwähnt in Bogaers (1962-1963) 78-80 (30. Legion), 78 Anm. 114, 80 Anm. 118 (*CTEC*), 80 Anm. 118 (*MHF*); Neueditionen aller Stempel vom Thermengelände in Minis & Schorn (im Erscheinen), Nr. 8-10.

zierten Inschriften enthält die Sammlung in Heerlen einige bisher unveröffentlichte Texte, die während und nach der Grabung von 1940/41 gefunden wurden.<sup>12</sup> Vier davon wollen wir im Folgenden edieren und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte *Coriovallums* aufzeigen. Hinzukommt eine weitere Inschrift unbekannter Herkunft aus dem Thermenmuseum.

### 1) EIGENTÜMERMARKE (*tabula ansata*)

Diese Eigentümermarke wurde am 26. Oktober 1999 in Heerlen bei Ausubarbeiten zum Apartmentkomplex 'Statio' in der Coriovallumstraat in den Resten eines römischen Hauses gefunden (Inventarnummer: 24160).<sup>13</sup> Diese Straße führt nördlich an den Thermen entlang, wobei der Fundort einige hundert Meter von diesen entfernt liegt. In der Antike befand sich das römische Haus in der Nähe der oben erwähnten Handelsstraße von Köln über Tongeren nach Boulogne-sur-Mer und außerhalb der Spitzgrabenanlage.<sup>14</sup> Die Eigentümermarke wurde in den obersten 50 cm der Füllung des römischen Kellers und des Treppenhauses gefunden. Die ca. 150 antiken Kleinfunde, die beim Bau des Apartmentkomplexes gemacht wurden, wurden gesichert und befinden sich heute im Thermenmuseum. Eine wissenschaftliche Studie des Materials steht noch aus.

Die Eigentümermarke aus Messingblech<sup>15</sup> hat die Form einer *tabula ansata*; maximale Länge: 5,8 cm, maximale Höhe: 3,7 cm; die rechte *ansa* fehlt, ebenso ein Stück des rechten unteren Teils, ohne daß dadurch Text verlorengegangen ist; Buchstabenhöhe: 5-9 mm. Die allermeisten Marken dieser Form haben Fixierlöcher, gewöhnlich in den *ansae*, durch die sie mittels Stiften vernietet oder mit Draht oder Faden befestigt werden konnten.<sup>16</sup> Unsere Marke gehört zu den wenigen, bei denen dies nicht

<sup>12</sup> Weitere Inschriften vom Thermengelände werden in Minis & Schorn (im Erscheinen) publiziert.

<sup>13</sup> Eine vorläufige Bekanntmachung der Inschrift in einem Ausstellungskatalog: Minis & Schorn (2017b).

<sup>14</sup> Zu dieser Straße s. Demey & Roymans (2004); Jeneson (2016); zu ihrem Verlauf innerhalb Heerlens s. Eggen (1988-1989) 30-32.

<sup>15</sup> Die Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse der Firma Restaura (Haelen, NL) im Auftrag des Thermenmuseums ergab die folgenden Werte: Sb 0,126%; Sn 3,741%; Pb 1,201%; Zn 10,818%; Cu 71,798%; Fe 2,674%; V 0,084%; Ti 0,177%; P 7,523%; Si 1,314%.

<sup>16</sup> Zu den Befestigungen der einzelnen Formen der Eigentümermarken s. Oldenstein (1976) 190-193.



Vorderseite und Rückseite

(Foto 1: Restauration im Auftrag des Thermenmuseums; Foto 2: Minis & Schorn)

der Fall ist. Sie zeigt auf der Rückseite Reste von Lötung,<sup>17</sup> mit der wahrscheinlich drei Fixierstifte auf mittlerer Höhe in horizontaler Lage befestigt waren. Durch solche Stifte wurden Marken mit Gegenknöpfen an

<sup>17</sup> Die Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse der Firma Restauration (Haelen, NL) im Auftrag des Thermenmuseums ergab die folgenden Werte für die Lötung: Sn 58,778%; Zr 0,008%; Bi 0,037%; Pb 9,741%; Zn 1,273%; Cu 28,632%; Fe 1,111%; Cr 0,067%; V 0,070%; Ti 0,104%; P 0,159%.

Gegenständen befestigt. Für diese Art der Befestigung einer *tabula ansata* sind uns keine Parallelen bekannt, sie ist typisch für rechteckige Marken, und auch dort findet man nur zwei Stifte. Nur bei einer einzigen *tabula ansata* ist uns eine Befestigung an der Rückseite bekannt, allerdings mittels eines gelochten Stegs.<sup>18</sup> Oldenstein vermutet, daß Fixierstifte für die Befestigung auf Leder verwendet wurden.<sup>19</sup>

Auf der *tessera* ist zu lesen:

> (*centuriae*) *Rai Apron*( )

> (*centuriae*) *Valentin(i)*

*Q[± 3]AT*

Wie auf solchen Marken üblich, ist der Text punktiert. In der ersten Zeile steht kein Worttrenner zwischen den Namen. Das L in Z. 2 ist ziemlich kursiv ausgeführt, eine leicht schräge Haste von links oben nach rechts unten, so daß sie kaum vom Fuß zu unterscheiden ist. Man könnte auch an S denken, doch gehört das, was man als die obere Rundung eines S deuten könnte, zu einer Linie von Bläschen im Metall.<sup>20</sup> In der dritten Zeile sind vor Q (auch ein anderer runder Buchstabe ist möglich) keine Reste eines *centuria*-Zeichens zu sehen. Nach Z. 3 scheint die Marke unbeschrieben gewesen zu sein. Z. 1 und Z. 2-3 wurden allem Anschein nach von verschiedenen Personen geschrieben, da unterschiedliche Formen von A verwendet sind.

Die Form der Marke trägt nicht zur Datierung bei, da *tabulae ansatae* zu jeder Zeit von den römischen Truppen in Germanien als Eigentümermarken verwendet wurden.<sup>21</sup> Die meisten in der Grabungsdokumentation datierten Funde aus derselben Fundschicht gehören ins 2. Jh. n.Chr.<sup>22</sup> Auch ein Teil der übrigen Funde im Keller des römischen Hauses stammt aus dieser Zeit, während einige Gegenstände aus den ältesten Schichten zum Teil noch ins 1. Jh. n. gehören können. Für unsere Marke dürfte daher eine Datierung ins

<sup>18</sup> Kontrolliert wurden, soweit Abbildungen zugänglich waren, u.a. die Marken in Nuber (1972) 504-507; Pfahl (2012) 174-175 (Nr. 302-314); Eck & Pangerl (2015). Die *tabula ansata* mit gelochtem Steg stammt aus Osterburken: Oldenstein (1976) 192 (Nr. 756) = Pfahl (2012) 174-175 (Nr. 308).

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. auch Nuber (1972) 484 Anm. 5. Anders Dana & Gaiu (2016) 267, die an Kennzeichnung von Waffen denken.

<sup>20</sup> Vasentinus als Cognomen in *CIL* VIII 5883 = *ILAlg* 7226 ist wohl Fehler für Valentinus (siehe *ILAlg* zur Stelle).

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. Oldenstein (1976) 192-193.

<sup>22</sup> Wir stützen uns hierbei auf die Datierungen in der Grabungsdokumentation im Thermenmuseum. Ein eingehendes Studium des gesamten Materials der Grabung, v.a. der Terra Sigillata, kann hier wohl noch zu Präzisierungen führen.



2. Jh. n. sehr wahrscheinlich sein. Diese Datierung wird dadurch bestätigt, daß die Marke den Übergang von italischer zu lokaler Rekrutierung der Zenturionen sehen läßt, der im 2. Jh. n. stattfand (s. unten).

Der erste Name in Z. 1 ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach das Gentilnomen Raius. Es ist häufig in Rom und Italien, aber seltener außerhalb. Einige Belege finden sich in Spanien und den Balkanprovinzen, doch scheint unser Text das erste sichere Zeugnis für den Namen im nördlichen Teil des Römischen Reiches zu liefern.<sup>23</sup> Wenig wahrscheinlich ist es, an eine Abkürzung für die mit Raius verwandten, aber sehr seltenen Gentilnamen Raianus, Raienus oder Raielius zu denken.<sup>24</sup> Ein passendes Cognomen, das mit Rai- beginnt, ist nicht bezeugt.<sup>25</sup>

Apron( ) kann für Apronius stehen, das vor allem als Gentilname, aber auch als Cognomen in der Region bezeugt ist,<sup>26</sup> oder für die Cognomina Apronianus und Apronio, die ebenfalls in den germanischen Provinzen belegt sind.<sup>27</sup> Eher unwahrscheinlich sind die seltenen Cognomina Apro<sup>28</sup> und Apronillus.<sup>29</sup> In allen Fällen handelt es sich um römisch-italische Namen.

Valentīn(i) ist der Genitiv des Gentilnomens Valentinius oder des Cognomens Valentinus, die beide in der Region zu finden sind (s. auch unten zum Gentilnomen).<sup>30</sup> Wenig wahrscheinlich ist Abkürzung für das Cognomen Valentinianus.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Die onomastischen Sammlungen Kakoschkes führen keine Belege für Britannia, die beiden germanischen Provinzen, Gallia Belgica, Raetia und Noricum auf; zu den Belegen in den westlichen Provinzen siehe *OPEL* IV 22. In der Eigentümerinschrift *AE* 2013, 486 aus Fossombrone (*Forum Sempronii*) ist zu lesen: *P. Corneli Rai Senecae > (centurionis) leg(ionis) XVI*. Diese Legion war ab 43 n.Chr. in Neuss (*Novaesium*) stationiert, bis sie um 70 n.Chr. aufgelöst wurde. Es kann also sein, daß schon dieser Zenturio namens Raius in der Nähe lebte; vgl. den Kommentar in Bernardelli Calavalle (2012) 283-286.

<sup>24</sup> Siehe *OPEL* IV 22; Solin & Salomies (1994) 153; zur Etymologie s. Schulze (1904) 217-218.

<sup>25</sup> *OPEL* und Solin & Salomies (1994) haben keinen Beleg. *EDCS* liefert einen Beleg für Raicirri[us?] (*AE* 1996, 838: 2. Jh. n.Chr.); Rainovaldus dort ist mittelalterlich.

<sup>26</sup> Germania Superior und Inferior: Kakoschke (2006-2008) I 82 (GN 109: 10 Belege); II 1, 114 (CN 261: 5 Belege); Gallia Belgica: Kakoschke (2010) 47-48 (NG 34: 10 Belege); 214 (CN 101: 1 Beleg). Für Britannia hat Kakoschke (2011a) 51 (GN 26) 1 Beleg.

<sup>27</sup> Apronianus: Kakoschke (2006-2008) II 1, 113 (CN 259: 2 Belege); Apronio: ebd., 113-114 (CN 260: 1 Beleg).

<sup>28</sup> Kakoschke (2012) 260 (CN 127).

<sup>29</sup> *OPEL* I 154: bisher nur die weibliche Form Apronilla belegt (3 Einträge in *EDCS*).

<sup>30</sup> Für die Germania Superior und Inferior s. Kakoschke (2006-2008) I 410 (GN 1345); II 2 (CN 3197); für Gallia Belgica: Kakoschke (2011b) 178 (GN 527); 537-538 (CN 1425).

<sup>31</sup> Ein später Beleg für Köln (5./6. Jh. n. Chr.) in Kakoschke (2006-2008) 421 (CN 3196); ein später Beleg (368 n.Chr.) in Britannia: Kakoschke (2011a) 622 (CN 1401); drei Belege für Raetien (ab dem 2. Jh. n.Chr.) in Kakoschke (2009) 304-305 (CN 691).



Unsere Eigentümermarke ist in typologischer Hinsicht interessant. Denn es stellt sich die Frage, ob in Z. 1 bzw. Z. 2-3 von jeweils einer oder zwei Personen die Rede ist. Leider existiert nach unserem Wissen keine Studie zu der Frage, welche Varianten im Textaufbau der Inschriften auf solchen Marken existierten, ob es je nach Ort oder Zeit Unterschiede im Formular gab und ob es abhängig von der Form der Marke, dem Gegenstand, zu dem die Marke gehörte, oder den einzelnen Truppengattungen Unterschiede gab. Eine solche Studie müßte neben den Eigentümermarken auch noch andere Eigentümerinschriften aus dem militärischen Bereich, etwa solche direkt auf Ausrüstungsgegenständen, in den Blick nehmen. Im Folgenden sollen in einer weitgehend synchronen Übersicht nur die wichtigsten und für unseren Text relevanten Varianten des Formulars auf Eigentümermarken (und teils auf anderem Militärgut) aufgezeigt werden, um auf dieser Grundlage zum Verständnis unserer Marke beizutragen. Eine vollständige Erfassung und Auswertung des Materials kann an dieser Stelle nicht versucht werden.<sup>32</sup>

Einige wenige Inschriften auf den Marken nennen lediglich den Eigentümer im Genitiv.<sup>33</sup> Andere weisen das *centuria*- oder *turma*-Zeichen (> bzw. T) und den Namen des Kommandanten im Genitiv auf, kennzeichnen den Gegenstand demnach als Staatseigentum, wobei für den Namen des Kommandanten zumeist das Cognomen,<sup>34</sup> selten hingegen

<sup>32</sup> Die wichtigste Studie zu den Eigentümermarken ist Nuber (1972), der aber einen anderen Interessenschwerpunkt hat; vgl. MacMullen (1960); nützlich auch Galsterer (1983) 11-16 zur Namensstruktur in Graffiti aus Haltern; Wiegels (1992). Nubers umfangreiche Liste der Marken, mit der er aber keine Vollständigkeit anstrebte, ist die Grundlage unserer Studie. Verwertet ist auch das Material aus Pfahl (2012), der die Marken des Limesgebiets mit wünschenswerter Vollständigkeit bietet. Einige Bemerkungen zur möglichen Chronologie auf der Grundlage der Formen in Oldenstein (1976) 190-193. Fotos in Reuter & Scholz (2005). Instrukтив sind die Kommentare zu den Editionen von Einzelstücken in Wiegels (2010) 275-294. Die Erfassung des Materials ist schwierig, da sehr viele Marken in entlegenen archäologischen Publikationen ediert wurden, die weder von *AE* noch von *EDCS* erfaßt werden. Zusätzlich zum Material aus den oben genannten Publikationen wurden auch noch die als Eigentümerinschriften klassifizierten Text in *EDCS*, die *centuria* oder *turma* enthalten, überprüft. – Früher wurde noch diskutiert, ob Ausrüstungsgegenstände der Soldaten Privateigentum sein konnten. Dies ist inzwischen geklärt; s. zuletzt Waebens (2012).

<sup>33</sup> Z.B. Pfahl (2012) 170 (Nr. 242); 171 (Nr. 263); 171 (Nr. 263); Eck & Pangerl (2015) 115 mit Abb. 6. Solche Inschriften finden sich häufiger direkt auf den Ausrüstungsgegenständen; siehe Nuber (1972) 499 mit Anm. 96.

<sup>34</sup> Pfahl (2012) 175 (Nr. 309): > *Quinlaris*; 175 (Nr. 319): *T Vita(lis)*; siehe auch den Mahlstein *AE* 1975, 637: > *Bisae*; kollektives Privateigentum oder Staatseigentum beim Mahlstein mit Spezifizierung des *contubernium* innerhalb der *turma* in *AE* 1994, 1261: > *T. Veci co(ntuberni) Prudentis*; auf der Handmühle *AE* 2009, 923: *Tur(ma) Enni*.

das Gentilnomen<sup>35</sup> verwendet wird.<sup>36</sup> Es scheint nicht vorzukommen, daß mit solchen Inschriften auf Marken das persönliche Eigentum des Zenturio oder Turmenführers in dieser Weise gekennzeichnet wird. Dies wird in der Forschung jedenfalls nicht angenommen, obwohl es ganz vereinzelt entsprechende Inschriften auf den Ausrüstungsgegenständen selbst zu geben scheint.<sup>37</sup> Die Reihenfolge ist meist *centuria/turma*-Zeichen, gefolgt vom Namen des Kommandanten, aber selten findet sich auch die umgekehrte Reihenfolge.<sup>38</sup>

Auf den meisten Marken finden wir erst die Bezeichnung der Zenturie/Turma mittels des >/T-Zeichens und des Namens ihres Kommandanten, darauf folgt der Name des Eigentümers aus dieser Einheit, wobei beide im Genitiv stehen. Häufig wird der Zenturio/Turmenführer nur mit dem Cognomen oder mit Gentilnomen und Cognomen bezeichnet. Die Ausführlichkeit des Namens des Soldaten variiert in diesen Fällen. Wenn von beiden Personen nur das Cognomen verwendet wird, werden beide Namen meist durch Zeilenwechsel voneinander abgesetzt;<sup>39</sup> gelegentlich fehlt dieser Zeilenwechsel,<sup>40</sup> was aber unproblematisch ist, da deutlich ist, daß es sich um zwei Cognomina, d.h. um zwei Personen, handelt. Seltener ist, daß der Zenturio nur mit seinem Gentilnomen benannt wird. Man scheint sich bewußt gewesen zu sein, daß es zu Mißverständnissen führen kann, wenn sich daran der Name des Eigentümers unter Verwendung des Cognomens anschließt, da dies als ein einziger Name verstanden werden konnte. Ist dies der Fall, werden, wie es scheint, beide Namen durch Zeilenwechsel voneinander getrennt. In dieser Weise werden jedenfalls Marken mit einem entsprechenden Formular zumeist in der

<sup>35</sup> Z.B. Pfahl (2012) 173 (Nr. 289): > *Mantici* (Manticus nach OPEL und Solin & Salomies (1994) Gentilname; Datierung: 250-275 n.Chr.). Die vielen Holzspeere aus Oberaden haben fast nur den Gentilnamen des Zenturio, was durch ihre frühe Datierung in die augusteische Zeit zu erklären ist; s. Bohn (1924).

<sup>36</sup> Zum Staatseigentum s. Swoboda (1952) 153-154. Auf den Bronzееimern AE 2006, 903: > *Fl(avi) Privati* und AE 2006, 904: *T Ma(rci?) Comini Maximi* sehr wahrscheinlich Gentilname und Cognomen bzw. *tria nomina*.

<sup>37</sup> Dann ist > als (*centurionis*) zu verstehen: das Metallfaß AE 1951, 139: > *D(---) Prisci primi(pili)*; die Gürtelschnalle Eck & Pangerl (2015) 120 mit Abb. 15: > (*centurionis*) *Sabini* | *Lucani*.

<sup>38</sup> Erstere Reihenfolge bei den Marken oben, letztere in Pfahl (2012) 171 (Nr. 260): *Flavi* | *Primitiv(i) T*.

<sup>39</sup> Pfahl (2012) 170-171 (Nr. 248): > | *Gattini* | *Crispini*; 171 (Nr. 251): > *Primi* | *Peregrini*; 172 (Nr. 278): *T Vitalis* | *Iuvenis*.

<sup>40</sup> Pfahl (2012) 173 (Nr. 291): > *Tert(i) Quinti* | > *Tert(i) Valentini*; 173 (Nr. 290): > *Pr(imi?) Emeriti*; so wohl auch zweimal auf dem Panzerbeschlag Pfahl (2012) 185 (Nr. 366), auf der Spitzhacke AE 2002, 1046, auf dem Krug AE 2002, 1043.

Forschung interpretiert. Es ist aber gut möglich, daß sich unter ihnen auch einige Marken befinden, die Staatseigentum bezeichnen und dabei den Zenturionamen mit Gentilnomen und Cognomen wiedergeben.<sup>41</sup> Wenn der Zenturio nur mit dem Gentilnomen bezeichnet wird, finden wir auffallend viele Änderungen im Formular, die es ermöglichen, den Zenturio vom Eigentümer zu unterscheiden.<sup>42</sup>

Bei Eigentümerwechsel wird der alte Name gelegentlich getilgt, häufiger aber wird der neue lediglich auf der Marke hinzugefügt. Wechselt der Zenturio einer Einheit, wird der Name des neuen Zenturio hinzugefügt.<sup>43</sup>

Betrachtet man auf der Grundlage dieser Beobachtungen unsere Marke, ist Folgendes festzustellen. Die Namen in Z. 2-3 können als ein oder als zwei Personen verstanden werden. Z. 1 muß man hingegen als einen einzigen Namen verstehen, da Raius Gentilname war. Man könnte zwar vermuten, daß aufgrund von Korrosion ein Punkt zwischen den beiden Namen weggefallen ist, durch den der Schreiber deutlich machen wollte, daß es sich um zwei Personen handelte. Aber dies entspräche nicht dem Usus solcher Texte, die Zeilenwechsel haben, wenn vom Zenturio das Gentilnomen und vom Soldaten das Cognomen angegeben wird. Punkte finden sich zwar gelegentlich zwischen dem Zenturio- und dem Eigentümernamen, uns sind aber keine sicheren Beispiele von Eigentümermarken bekannt, in denen nur ein Punkt das Gentilnomen des Zenturio vom Cognomen des

<sup>41</sup> Zumeist als zwei Namen interpretiert: Nuber (1972) 506 (Nr. 54) = *CIL* XV 7169: > | *Apici* | *Severi*; Pfahl (2012) 171 (Nr. 254: 80-357 n.Chr.): > *Scati* | *Gallie[i]*; 173 (Nr. 292: ca. 115-260 n.Chr.): > *Val(eri?)* | *Sel(euci?)*; 175 (Nr. 313: 79/81-250/275 n.Chr.): *T M. Rusti* | *Adiutoris*; *AE* 2008, 1194: > *Aponi* | *Valeri*; *ILD* 227: > *Claudi* • *Silo(nis)* (in *ILD* als eine Person interpretiert; doch kann die Punktierung verwendet worden sein, um zwei Personen zu unterscheiden); *AE* 1929, 45 = *RIB* II 1,2410.5: > *Vinlu-lei* | *Super(i)* (in beiden Editionen als eine Person interpretiert). Ein allgemeines Problem ist, daß Genitiv des Gentilnamens und des dazugehörigen Cognomens oft identisch sind, so daß wir heute manchmal nicht mit Sicherheit entscheiden können, welcher Namenbestandteil vorliegt.

<sup>42</sup> *Tria nomina* des Soldaten verwendet: Nuber (1972) 502 (Nr. 2) = *CIL* XIII 10027.221: > *Clo[di]* | *L. Sempr(oni)* | *Lucani*; ebenso Nuber (1972) 505 (Nr. 30) = 40. *BRGK* 1959, Nr. 69 (1. Jh. n.Chr.); Soldatenname (Cognomen) im Nominativ: *AE* 2010, 794: > *Flavi Felix* | §; ebenso *AE* 1982, 839 (100-160 n.Chr.); Soldatenname im Nominativ und vorangestellt: Pfahl (2012) 174 (Nr. 299: ca. 115-ca. 260 n.Chr.) = *AE* 1992, 1292: *Titus* | > *Vitri* (vgl. Wiegels (2010) 285-286); Praenomen und Gentilnomen des Soldaten verwendet: Nuber (1972) 505 (Nr. 24) = *CIL* XIII 11525b: > *Attieni* | *L. Serrani*; Eck & Pangerl (2015) 122 mit Abb. 20a/b: > *Vindi* | *C. Cati*; Praenomen und Gentilnomen des Soldaten verwendet und vorangestellt: Nuber (1972) 507 (Nr. 60) = *JÖAI* 39, 1952, 151: (...) | *C. Viseli* | > *Nepoltis*.

<sup>43</sup> Vgl. Nuber (1972) 498-499; Garbsch (1978) 33-34; Pfahl (2012) 73. Sicher Eigentümerwechsel: Pfahl (2012) 173 (Nr. 291); der Panzerbeschlag Pfahl (2012) 185 (Nr. 366).

Soldaten trennt.<sup>44</sup> Hinzukommt, daß die Verwendung des Cognomens statt des Gentilnomens im 2. Jh. der übliche Fall ist, wenn eine Person nur mit einem einzigen Namen bezeichnet wird. Es fällt zudem auf, daß bei anderen Eigentümermarken der Text zumeist viel größer und zentrierter geschrieben ist als beim Heerlener Exemplar, bei dem man den Eindruck hat, die Namen seien platzsparend so geschrieben worden, daß man in der Zukunft noch weitere Namen hinzufügen kann. Dies scheint besser zu Militäreigentum zu passen, wenngleich die anderen Marken auf Militäreigentum dieses Charakteristikum nicht aufweisen. Alles in allem ist es daher wahrscheinlich, hier von zwei Personen und von Staatseigentum auszugehen. Daher ist die Übersetzung: “Eigentum der Zenturie des Raius Apron( ) | Eigentum der Zenturie des Valentinius | [+ Cognomen]” wahrscheinlicher als die Übersetzung “Eigentum des Apron( ) aus der Zenturie des Raius | Eigentum des [Name] | aus der Zenturie des Valentinus”. Wenn es Parallelen für Eigentümermarken gäbe, auf denen in dieser Weise das Privateigentum eines Zenturio bezeichnet wird, wäre auch dies eine attraktive Erklärung, doch scheint dies nicht der Fall zu sein.

In der Schicht, in der die Marke gefunden wurde, dominieren Fragmente von Terra Sigillata, die 15 von 22 Fundnummern umfassen.<sup>45</sup> Allgemein sind die Funde in dieser Schicht sowohl für militärische als auch für zivile Kontexte bezeugt.<sup>46</sup> Auch in anderen Schichten der Grabung im Keller wie überhaupt auf dem ‘Statio’-Gelände dominieren Terra Sigillata-Fragmente, daneben wurden im Keller andere Objekte gefunden, die wenig spezifisch sind.<sup>47</sup> Rein militärische Gegenstände wurden, von

<sup>44</sup> Möglicherweise ein Beispiel für Punkt zwischen Gentilname des Zenturio und Name des Eigentümers in Nuber (1972) 504 (Nr. 13) = Pfahl (2012) 174 (Nr. 305) = *CIL* XIII 11974: > | *Geniali* • *Quf---*. Ein sehr unsicheres Beispiel für eine solche Trennung ist *AE* 2008, 1194 in Anm. 41. Ebenso unsicher ist Nuber (1972) 506 (Nr. 44) = Vollmer, Nr. 351 = Pfahl (2012) 171 (Nr. 255): > | *Sextili* | *Statuti* • *Pf---*, da *Statuti* Cognomen zu *Sextili* oder Gentilnamen zu *Pf---* sein kann. Punkte zwischen den beiden Namen (aber jeweils Gentilname und Cognomen) in Nuber (1972) 504 (Nr. 1) = *CIL* XIII 10027.214: > *Fir---* • *Max---* • *Aem---* *Ruff---*; ähnlich Nuber (1972) 504, 3 = *AE* 1928, 90: > *Q.* • *Corne(li)* | *Iusti* • *M.* | *Sulpici*. Auf Beinschienen: Pfahl (2012) 179 (Nr. 350): (A) *T Mod(esti?)* • *Lucan(i)*; (B) *T Moroni* und 179 (Nr. 351): (A) *T Mod(esti?)* *Lucan(i)*; (B) *T • Moroni*. Auf Helm: Pfahl (2012) 180 (Nr. 353): (A) *T • Sil(ani oder -vani)* • *Saltuini*; (B) *T Gem(elli oder -ini)* *Iu{i}stini*.

<sup>45</sup> Die Informationen im Folgenden sind der Grabungsdokumentation im Thermenmuseum entnommen; eigene archäologische Forschungen haben wir nicht angestellt.

<sup>46</sup> Funde in dieser Schicht: eine einfache Drahtfibel, ein Salbenreibstein; Glas, eine Melonenperle, eine Haarnadel/ein Schreibstift, ein bronzenes Röhrchen unbekannter Funktion; Nägel.

<sup>47</sup> U.a. Glasfragmente, ein Spiegel, zwei Ohrlöffchen, vier Wetz- oder Schleifsteine, ein Mahlstein.

unserer Marke abgesehen, nicht gefunden. Die Architektur des Kellers entspricht der eines typischen Wohnhauses in einem *vicus*. Aus diesen Gründen ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß es sich bei dem Gebäude um einen militärischen Posten handelte. Wie die Marke in den Keller kam, d.h. ob der Gegenstand im Keller gelagert war oder nach Einsturz der Kellerdecke dorthin gelangte, muß offenbleiben.

Ein Zenturio Raius Apron( ) ist nicht durch andere Texte bekannt. Ins 2. oder 3. Jh. gehört die Weihinschrift der römischen Bürger eines *numerus* von Gaesaten, die der *cent[uria] V]alentini* angehörten, aus dem benachbarten Tongeren.<sup>48</sup> Da es sich angesichts der Datierung um ein Cognomen handeln dürfte, war dies ein anderer Mann. Wenn Valentin(i) in unserem Text, wie oben argumentiert wurde, Genitiv des Gentilnomen Valentinus ist, trug der Mann eines der typischen Pseudogentilizen auf -inius, wie sie für die germanischen Provinzen charakteristisch sind, und hier vor allem für Germania Inferior.<sup>49</sup> Er stammte daher sehr wahrscheinlich aus dieser Region. Unklar ist, ob er Zenturio in einer Legion oder einer Auxiliareinheit war. Alföldy bezweifelt, daß es nach Trajan noch Zenturionen italischer Abstammung in den Auxiliareinheiten in Germania Inferior gab.<sup>50</sup> Da aber die Datierung unserer *tessera* unsicher ist, hilft uns Raius' italischer Name nicht bei der Bestimmung des Heeresteils weiter. Wie dem auch sei, der Umstand, daß in unserem Text der erste Kommandant der Zenturie ein Italiker und sein Nachfolger ein Einheimischer war, illustriert sehr schön die auch sonst im 2. Jh. feststellbare Entwicklung in der Rekrutierung: die Zenturionen entstammen nun immer häufiger der lokalen Elite der Provinz oder der benachbarten Provinzen und sind nicht mehr italischer Herkunft.<sup>51</sup>

Welche Folgerungen lassen sich aus dem Fund für die Geschichte *Coriovallums* ziehen? Die Marke kann als Beleg für die Anwesenheit eines oder mehrerer aktiver Angehöriger der Zenturie des Valentinus in *Coriovallum* gesehen werden. Bisher war für diesen Ort und seine Umgebung vor allem die Präsenz von Veteranen bezeugt: Schon für die ersten Jahrzehnte des 1. Jh.s dokumentiert ein Grabstein aus Heerlen, daß sich dort ein Veteran der fünften Legion<sup>52</sup> niederließ, und ein jüngst von uns

<sup>48</sup> *ILB*<sup>2</sup> 8 = *CIL* XIII 3593 = *ILS* 7055.

<sup>49</sup> Siehe Weisgerber (1972); vgl. Kakoschke (2006-2008) I 410 (GN 1345) mit Literatur.

<sup>50</sup> Alföldy (1968) 110-111.

<sup>51</sup> Zu den Auxilia s. Alföldy (1968) 104, 110-111; zu den Legionen s. Haensch (2001); Richier (2004) 147, 587-594.

<sup>52</sup> *CIL* XIII 8711.

publiziertes Militärdiplom aus dem benachbarten Rimbürg stammt von einem Veteranen, der wohl in Pannonia Inferior gedient hatte und zwischen 130-134 entlassen wurde.<sup>53</sup> Es wurde auch vermutet, daß sich Veteranen in großem Umfang in der fruchtbaren Lößzone Limburgs ansiedelten, um dort Landwirtschaft zu betreiben.<sup>54</sup> Da unsere Marke zu Staatseigentum gehörte, ist es aber eher unwahrscheinlich, daß es durch einen Veteranen nach *Coriovallum* kam. Der Fundkomplex erlaubt leider keine Rückschlüsse darauf, ob der oder die Soldaten, die den Gegenstand mit sich führten, in *Coriovallum* stationiert oder auf der Durchreise waren. So wahrscheinlich es aufgrund der strategisch wichtigen Lage Coriovallums und des Ortsnamens<sup>55</sup> auch ist, daß dort Soldaten stationiert waren, es fehlen doch bisher deutliche Belege. Man vermutete, wie oben erwähnt, daß *Coriovallum* eine *statio* des *cursus publicus* war und daher dort Benefiziarier stationiert waren.<sup>56</sup> Die Involvierung der Benefiziarier in den *cursus publicus* ist eine zwar häufig vertretene Ansicht, doch läßt sich diese, wie Kolb gezeigt hat, anhand der Quellen nicht erhärten. Selbst wenn *Coriovallum* eine *statio* besaß, impliziert dies also nicht die Stationierung von Benefiziariern.<sup>57</sup> Dennoch würde ihre Anwesenheit angesichts der verkehrstechnischen Lagen *Coriovallums* nicht verwundern.<sup>58</sup> Sie wird vielleicht durch einen unveröffentlichten Gegenstand bestätigt, der auf dem Thermenterrain gefunden wurde und vielleicht als Benefiziarier-Zeichen zu deuten ist,<sup>59</sup> wenngleich auch durch ihn keine permanente Präsenz zu beweisen ist.

<sup>53</sup> Minis & Schorn (2017a).

<sup>54</sup> Zum 1. Jh. n.Chr. s. Jeneson (2015) 156-157, 159; Panhuysen (2015) 85-86.

<sup>55</sup> Dazu siehe Anm. 111.

<sup>56</sup> Siehe z.B. van Hommerich (1961) 9-13; (1973) 69-70; Bogaers (1974) 173. Das meint wohl auch Bridger (2008) 614, wenn er von einer Polizeistation spricht.

<sup>57</sup> Siehe Kolb (2000) v.a. 174-175, 180-190; anders noch z.B. Ott (1995) 149-150. Auch Nelis-Clément (2000) 333-334 relativiert die Involvierung der Benefiziarier in den *cursus publicus*: "Les bénéficiaires détachés à proximité des *mansiones* du *cursus publicus* ont pu être amenés au cours de leurs fonctions à contrôler les diplômes des voyageurs ou les comptes des *mancipes* de la poste, ou encore à s'assurer que la population locale verse bien les contributions requises à ces fins. Mais les sources ne nous permettent pas de conclure à une responsabilité suprême de leur part dans l'organisation et la maintenance du *cursus publicus*." (334)

<sup>58</sup> Zu den hier in Frage kommenden (sicher bezeugten oder vermuteten) Aufgaben der Benefiziarier s. Ott (1995) 113-150; Nelis-Clément (2000) 211-268. Interessant ist der dort, S. 122, zitiert Text aus Tert. *Paga pers.* 13, nach dem Benefiziarier Listen von dubiosen Personen und Straftätern führten, zu denen auch die Diebe in Thermen (*fures balnearum*) gehörten.

<sup>59</sup> Hinweis von Dr. Karen Jeneson (Heerlen).



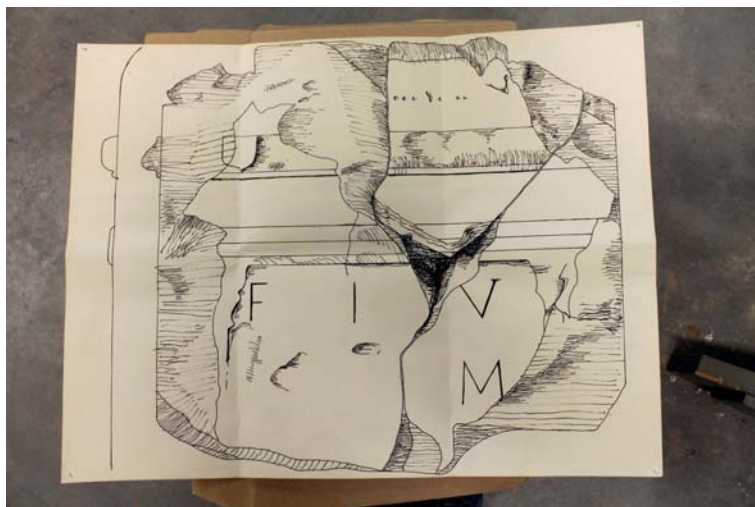
## 2) WEIHALTAR FÜR FORTUNA

Altar aus braungrauem Sandstein, gefunden 1940 an der Südseite der Coriovallumstraat auf dem Thermengelände (Inventarnummer: 3827). Das



TMH

Altar im heutigen Zustand  
(Foto 3: Restauration im Auftrag des Thermenmuseums)



Umzeichnung (Archiv des Thermenmuseums; Foto 4: Minis & Schorn)



Seiten des Altars links und rechts vom Betrachter aus gesehen  
(Fotos 5 & 6: Restaura im Auftrag des Thermenmuseums)

Material stammt wahrscheinlich aus einer nahegelegenen Sandsteingrube des Wормdal (Wurmtal). Der Altar ist in drei Teile zerbrochen, Breite: ca. 52 cm, Höhe: max. 54 cm, die ursprüngliche Höhe ist unbekannt; Tiefe: 17 cm. Das Schriftfeld wird von einer Leiste eingefasst, die oben 5 cm breit ist und deren Breite an den Seiten nicht mehr exakt feststellbar ist. Über dem Schriftfeld sind noch Reste eines Reliefs aus Blättern und eines Giebels erkennbar. Der Altaraufsatz ist noch ca. 10 cm hoch und noch ca. 43 cm breit. An den Seiten des Altars befindet sich jeweils ein Relief, das ein Füllhorn mit einem Pinienzapfen, einem Granatapfel und anderen Früchten darstellt.

Der Text der Inschrift ist stark verwittert und kaum noch lesbar. In Z. 1 ist vom F noch die obere Hälfte erhalten, doch wurde früher F mit Sicherheit gelesen; die senkrechte Haste des R, die laut der Dokumentation des Museums früher gelesen wurde, ist nicht mehr zu sehen; V ist sicher. In Z. 2 ist vom N nur die linke senkrechte Haste zu erkennen; das M direkt unterhalb des V ist sicher; danach ist wohl nichts ausgefallen. In Z. 1 ist die Buchstabenhöhe 5 cm; V ist ca. 5 cm breit; in Z. 2 beträgt der Abstand zwischen den Spitzen des M 4,5 cm, die Höhe ist 5 cm.



Dies genügt, um den Stein als Weihung an Fortuna zu identifizieren, eine Identifizierung die auch gestützt wird durch das Vorhandensein von Füllhörnern auf den Seiten und durch den Fundort (s. unten).<sup>60</sup>

Auf dem Altar ist zu lesen:

*F[ort]u-*  
*n[ae] . ] M*  
- - -

Die Worttrennung *Fortulnae* zu Beginn von Weihungen ist häufig und auch in den germanischen Provinzen zu finden.<sup>61</sup> Zu welchem Wort das M gehörte, ist nicht sicher. Entsprechend dem üblichen Formular solcher Weihungen erwartet man an dieser Stelle eines der vielen Epitheta der Fortuna<sup>62</sup> oder den Namen des Stifters. Unwahrscheinlich ist die abgekürzte Weiheformel *v(otum) s(olvit) m(erito)*, bei der man, wie bei der Inschrift des Marcus Sattonius Iucundus (s. unten), von der Schreibung *Fortuln(a)e* ausgehen müßte. Aber im allgemeinen ging einer solchen Formel der Name des Stifters voran.<sup>63</sup> Da sich keines der bekannten Epitheta für Fortuna hier anbietet, ist es wohl am wahrscheinlichsten, vor M *vacat* oder Punktierung anzunehmen und in M das Praenomen *M(arcus)* zu sehen. Dann war der Stifter, wie zu erwarten (s. unten), römischer Bürger und hieß wie Sattonius zufälligerweise ebenso Marcus; für eine Identifizierung mit ihm fehlen Anhaltspunkte.

<sup>60</sup> Laut der Dokumentation des Museums war Julianus E. Bogaers der erste, der diese Identifizierung vorschlug. Es gibt keinen Hinweis darauf, daß hier von *Fortunae* im Plural auszugehen ist wie in der Weihinschrift für die *Fortunae salutare*, *Aesculapius* und *Hygia* aus Bonn-Bad Godesberg (CIL XIII 7994).

<sup>61</sup> AE 2005, 1070 = Schalles (2006) 86-87 (Nr. 1) (Xanten; Mitte 2.-Mitte 3. Jh. n. Chr.): *Deae | Fortulnae M( ) N( ) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (wohl ursprünglich aus den Thermen; auf einer Seite ebenso ein Füllhorn); CIL XIII 6597 (Miltenberg): *Deae Fort[ul]nae sacrum | Sempronius | Martialis praef(ectus) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)*; CIL XIII 6675 (Mainz): *Fortulnae | [---] + i p t i m o l n i u s C a [---]*; CIL XIII 11774 (Stockstadt): *Deae Fortulnae Superae | A {a} r m i p o t e n t i s | Sacconiu[s] | Iustu[s] | Ambaxtus | aedem cum | ara de su {u} o f f e c i t | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito) {p} Aslpro et Aslplllro co(n)s(ulibus) | Idi(bus) Oct(obribus)*.

<sup>62</sup> Zu den Epitheta s. Kajanto (1981) 509-518 mit Ergänzungen in Kajanto (1983); zu den Epitheta in den germanischen Provinzen s. Kajanto (1988a) 576-583; vgl. Stoll (1992) I 158-159.

<sup>63</sup> Name des Stifters nach der Formel *VSLM* o.ä. ist selten: I. It. XI 1, 4 = AE 2000, 634: *Fortunae | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) | Hermes | serv(us?)*; AE 1966, 417: *Fortulna(e) | votum sol(vit) || l(i)b(ens) a(nimo) | Romana | Antonia*; CIL XI 6494a: *F(orti) F(ortunae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) | Trasius (oder T. Rasius) Blasltus*; vgl. CIL V 3899: *Fortuln(a)e v(otum) s(olvit) | l(ibens) m(erito)* und Stoll (1992) I 158 über die Häufigkeit des Stifternamens bei Weihungen für Fortuna.

Füllhörner waren geläufige Verzierungen, die im Zusammenhang mit unterschiedlichen Gottheiten Verwendung fanden. Sie sind Zeichen der Fruchtbarkeit, der Gesundheit und ganz allgemein des Wohlergehens. Dies erklärt ihre häufige Verwendung im Zusammenhang mit Schicksalsgöttinnen wie Fortuna, wenngleich sie nicht auf solche beschränkt ist. Ihre Bedeutung ist hierbei: "Die Göttin möge mit und aus diesem Füllhorn ihren Segen über den Stifter ... reichlich und unversiegbar ausgießen."<sup>64</sup> In jedem Fall stützt die Ikonographie die Identifikation des Steins als Fortuna-Altar.

Eine genauere Datierung der Inschrift als in das 2./3. Jh. scheint nicht möglich zu sein, da zu wenige Buchstaben erhalten sind und die Ikonographie nicht genügend aussagekräftig ist.<sup>65</sup>

Unser Text ist nicht die erste Weihinschrift für Fortuna aus den Heerlener Thermen. Schon seit längerem bekannt ist die bereits erwähnte Weihung eines Rats Herrn der *Colonia Ulpia Traiana/Xanten*, zu dem *Coriovallum* administrativ gehörte, für Fortuna anlässlich der von ihm finanzierten Renovierung des Bades:

*Fortun(a)e* [± 6] | *M(arcus) Sattonius I[ucun]dus dec(urio) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae) bali[neo] | re{s}stitut[o] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)]*.<sup>66</sup>

Der Fortuna [---] hat Marcus Sattonius Iucundus, Stadtratsmitglied der *Colonia Ulpia Traiana*, durch die Restaurierung des Bades sein Gelübde gern und zurecht eingelöst.

Die Ergänzung des Epithetons der Fortuna in der Erstausgabe als [*reduci*], die von den meisten späteren Herausgebern akzeptiert wurde,<sup>67</sup> ist unsicher. Wenn sie das Richtige trifft, handelt es sich hier nicht, wie in den meisten Fällen, um die Gottheit, die den Kaiser oder Soldaten auf Reisen in die Ferne beschützt (die "zurückführende Fortuna"), sondern um die

<sup>64</sup> Siehe Bauchhenß (2013) 145-147 (zur Verwendung in der Germania Inferior; Zitat dort, S. 146); Stoll (1992) I 219 (zu Weihungen aus Kastellen); allgemein zur Ikonographie s. Lichocka (1997) 32-34 und *passim*; Rausa (1997); für Füllhörner bei Fortuna-Weihungen s. die Beispiele in Schalles (2006) 86 Anm. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Betrieb der Thermen von der Mitte des 1. Jh. n.Chr. bis Anfang des 4. Jh.s (?); die meisten Weihinschriften für Fortuna aus Germanien stammen aus dem späten 2. und 3. Jh.; s. Kajanto (1988a) 558-559.

<sup>66</sup> *AE* 1959, 9.

<sup>67</sup> In *AE* 1959, 9; Nesselhauf & Lieb (1959) 209-210 (Nr. 247); ebenso Schalles (2008) 333. Zweifel bei Noethlichs (2013) 358: "Der Grund [scil. für die Ergänzung] ist nicht ersichtlich. Vielleicht hieß es einfach *Fortunae Sacrum* wie in *CIL* 13, 8609 aus Xanten (*AE* 1998, 968 und 970)?"

Schutzgottheit der Bäder, die auch anderswo im Zusammenhang mit Renovierungen genannt wird, hier demnach zu verstehen wäre als die „wiederherstellende Fortuna“.<sup>68</sup> Man identifiziert in der Nachfolge des Erstherausgebers Bogaers den Stifter oft mit einem Sattonius Iucundus, *primipilus* der *legio* III, der zwischen 256 und 258 in Lambèse eine Weihinschrift für Mars aufstellen ließ. Dies führt auf einen *terminus post quem* für die Renovierung der Thermen von ca. 260, die dann von Bogaers an das Ende des 3. Jh.s gesetzt wird, was zu einer unabhängig von dieser Inschrift konstatierten Bauphase van Giffens passen soll.<sup>69</sup> Letzteres ist bei dieser Deutung aber zweifelhaft, da van Giffen diese Bauphase auf „ab ca. 200“ datiert.<sup>70</sup> Da man im allgemeinen älter als 50 Jahre alt war, bevor man den Rang eines *primipilus* erreichte, hätte die Renovierung durch diesen Mann nicht allzu spät im 3. Jh. stattfinden können. Die Identifizierung beider Sattonii ist aber sehr unsicher, und Faure hat gute Argumente vorgebracht, die sie als zweifelhaft erscheinen lassen.<sup>71</sup> Die Sattonius-Inschrift sollte daher nicht mehr für eine zeitlich enge Datierung der Renovierung der Thermen herangezogen werden, und man wird sich vorerst mit der paläographischen Datierung der Inschrift zufriedengeben müssen, die auf die zweite Hälfte des 2. und das 3. Jahrhundert weist.<sup>72</sup>

Ein drittes Zeugnis für den Fortunakult in den Thermen stellt das bisher unveröffentlichte Fragment eines Füllhorns aus grauweißem Kalkstein dar (Höhe: 11,1 cm; Breite 8,7 cm; Dicke 7,2 cm), das an der Südseite der Coriovallumstraat auf dem Thermengelände gefunden wurde und sehr wahrscheinlich zu einer Fortunastatue gehörte.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>68</sup> S. Kajanto (1988a) 571-572 mit Belegen. Nicht ganz deutlich Schalles (2008) 333.

<sup>69</sup> So Bogaers (1957) 51-52; vgl. Nielsen (1990) II 21 (Nr. C 154): Restaurierung um 250 n. Chr. – Ähnlich Dodt (2003) 169: „Für eine Datierung der zweiten Bauperiode in die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. bietet eine parallele Nennung des Sattonius Iucundus den einzigen, jedoch schwachen Anhaltspunkt.“

<sup>70</sup> Van Giffen (1948) 225-226 (Bauphase „ca. 200 n.Chr.“), 234-235 (Bauphase „aanvangend ca. 200“).

<sup>71</sup> Faure (2010) 157-160. Nach seiner Rekonstruktion war der Sattonius aus Lambèse zwischen Oktober 253 und 256 *primipilus*.

<sup>72</sup> S. Nesselhauf & Lieb (1959) 210 (Nr. 247): „Ende des 2. oder 3. Jahrhundert (vielleicht um 260)“ (Letzteres wegen der möglichen Identifizierung mit dem *primipilus*); Spickermann (2008) 224: Weihung „wahrscheinlich im 3. Jahrhundert“; Panhuysen (2015) 89-90, 98: um 200 (ohne Begründung). Prof. Dr. Matthäus Heil (Berlin, *CIL*) teilt uns auf unsere Nachfrage mit, daß er auf der Basis der Paläographie eine Datierung ins 2. oder 3. Jh. für wahrscheinlich erachtet. Wir danken ihm herzlich für seine Hilfsbereitschaft.

<sup>73</sup> Inventarnummer: 24039; gefunden 1957.

Es überrascht nicht, daß der Fortunakult in den Heerlener Thermen offensichtlich recht populär war. Kajanto hat gezeigt, daß er in Provinzen mit starker militärischer Präsenz, und hier vor allem in Germanien, am weitesten verbreitet war, während er in Provinzen ohne größere Heeresverbände schwach ausgeprägt war. Er hat dies überzeugend darauf zurückgeführt, daß es sich dabei um einen genuin römischen Kult handelte, der vor allem unter Soldaten sehr beliebt war, die des Beistandes der Glücksgöttin in besonderem Maße bedurften, wenngleich die Verehrung der Fortuna nicht auf Soldaten beschränkt war. Insbesondere in Germanien wurden viele Weihungen für Fortuna in Thermen gefunden (gelegentlich mit Epitheta wie *balnearis*, *respiiciens*, *conservatrix*, *redux* etc.).<sup>74</sup> Auch in der Nähe der Xantener Thermen wurde vor kurzem ein simpler Altar für Fortuna entdeckt, der auf einer Seite ein Füllhorn aufweist: *Deae | Fortulnae M( ) N( ) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.<sup>75</sup> Fortuna war die Beschützerin der persönlichen Gesundheit und auch der Thermen selbst als der Orte, die der Erholung und Genesung dienten, was sich beides sehr gut im epigraphischen Befund widerspiegelt.<sup>76</sup> Während Fortuna-Weihungen in militärischen Bädern sehr häufig bezeugt sind, spielen sie, wie Stoll betont hat, in zivilen Bädern nur eine untergeordnete Rolle.<sup>77</sup> Ihre mit drei Belegen ausgesprochene Prominenz in den Heerlener Thermen kann als Hinweis darauf gesehen werden, daß in diesen zivilen Thermen mit einer starken Präsenz von Soldaten oder Veteranen (siehe oben) zu rechnen ist. Diese Annahme scheint Bestätigung

<sup>74</sup> Grundlegend Kajanto (1988a); wichtig auch Stoll (1992) I 158-162, 193-196, 217-220; vgl. Weisgerber (1975) 110-112, 123-125; Schalles (2008) 333.

<sup>75</sup> Siehe Anm. 54. Eine weitere Weihinschrift für Fortuna aus Xanten in *CIL* XIII 8609.

<sup>76</sup> S. Kajanto (1988a) mit einer Liste der epigraphischen Belege auf S. 576-583; für die ikonographischen Belege s. dort, S. 556 Anm. 17. Er erklärt aber (S. 573-574) die Prominenz des Fortunakultes in Bädern der Frontregionen auch noch damit, daß die Bäder "hallmarks of Roman civilization" waren, die in solchen Gebieten von den Römern besonders geschätzt worden seien. Etwas anders Birley (1986) 25. Siehe zum Fortunakult (v.a. in Germanien) auch Kajanto (1988b) v.a. 45-46. Im gallischen Bereich wurden kleine Standbilder der sitzenden Fortuna mit Füllhorn in Bädern, Quellen und Brunnen gefunden, bei denen diese Ikonographie zur Darstellung einer einheimischen Quell- und Heilgöttin verwendet wurde; dazu s. die Zusammenstellung in Weisgerber (1975) 111, 123-124; vgl. Leunissen (1986) 176-178.

<sup>77</sup> Stoll (1992) I 158, 194-195, 219 unter Hinweis auf Manderscheid (1981), der für zivile Thermen nur sieben Weihungen verzeichnet; allerdings weist Stoll (219) darauf hin, daß Manderscheid "die NW-Provinzen nur lückenhaft mit erfaßt"; dennoch dürfte die Beobachtung in der Tendenz stimmen. Vgl. Perea Yébenes (1997) v.a. 154-161; González Fernández (2003) v.a. 379-382.

zu finden durch eine Vielzahl militärischer Kleinfunde auf dem Areal,<sup>78</sup> zu denen das bereits oben erwähnte mögliche Benefiziarierabzeichen gehört. Da in den allermeisten Fällen keine Datierung des Fundmaterials verfügbar ist, muß noch offenbleiben, welche Objekte aus der Zeit des Thermenbetriebs stammen und welche aus der Spätantike, als die Thermen oder ein Teil davon Teil der Befestigungsanlage waren, zu der auch die Spitzgräben gehörten.

Eine zweite Erklärung für die Häufigkeit der Fortuna-Weihungen bietet sich an, die keineswegs im Gegensatz zur ersten zu stehen braucht. *Coriovallum* lag an der Kreuzung zweier großer Fernstraßen. Daß hier zahlreiche Beschwerden als Folge langer Reisen zu kurieren waren, liegt auf der Hand. Wir wissen, daß in Thermen auch medizinische Behandlungen durchgeführt wurden, und Funde von Skalpell und anderem Operationsbesteck werden als Hinweise darauf gesehen, daß in Thermen chirurgische Eingriffe vorgenommen wurden. Als Orte, an denen sauberes und fließendes Wasser in ausreichender Menge vorhanden war, bieten sie sich dafür in der Tat an.<sup>79</sup> Auch in Heerlen wurde in den Thermen viel kosmetisch-medizinisches Gerät gefunden, außerdem ein Skalpellgriff. Da er keiner modernen wissenschaftlichen Grabung entstammt, ist nicht sicher, ob er in die Zeit datiert, als die Thermen im Betrieb waren, wenngleich dies sehr gut möglich ist.<sup>80</sup> Der Okulistenstempel des L. Iunius Macrinus, der in Heerlen am Valkenburgerweg gefunden wurde und sich heute in Brüssel befindet, bezeugt zudem die Tätigkeit dieses (Augen)arztes im 3. Jh. (?) in *Coriovallum*.<sup>81</sup> Es ist daher zu vermuten, daß die Thermen von *Coriovallum* mehr, als bisher angenommen wurde, der medizinischen Versorgung Reisender und der lokalen Bevölkerung dienten, was ebenso die Verehrung der Fortuna an diesem Ort erklären kann.

<sup>78</sup> Sie sind zumeist unveröffentlicht; einige Bilder in Jamar & Gielen (1977) 37 Abb. 49 (ohne Datierungen; daher ist unsicher, ob sie aus der Zeit stammen, in der die Thermen noch in Betrieb waren).

<sup>79</sup> Künzel (1986; 1991). Weitere Literatur in Köhler (2013) 259-260. Wichtig aber die Modifizierungen von Künzels Interpretation in Hoss (im Druck 1) und in Whitmore (im Druck). Wir danken Dr. Dr. Stefanie Hoss (Köln) für den Hinweis auf diese Publikationen.

<sup>80</sup> Ein Großteil der Funde ist noch unveröffentlicht. Wir danken Dr. Karen Jeneson (Heerlen) und Dr. Dr. Stefanie Hoss (Köln) für Informationen über diese Funde; einige Funde kosmetisch-medizinischen Geräts aus Heerlen beschreibt Ulrich (1966).

<sup>81</sup> *CIL* XIII 10021.109 = Voinot (1981) 236-237 (Nr. 117).

## 3) BLEIETIKETT



Vorderseite und Rückseite  
(Fotos 7 & 8: Restaura im Auftrag des Thermenmuseums)

Leicht verbogenes Bleietikett (Inventarnummer: 23586); maximale Länge: 5,2 cm, maximale Höhe: 2 cm, maximale Dicke: 2 mm. Dies entspricht in etwa der für solche Stücke üblichen Größe.<sup>82</sup> Das Etikett wurde am 25.4.1996 in Heerlen bei Bauarbeiten an der Nordseite der Uilestraat gefunden, als das große Bürogebäude links vom Parkhaus errichtet wurde. Es befand sich in einer Abfallschicht unter einer Kiesel-schicht, etwa zwei Meter unter der Oberfläche. Die Funde aus dieser Schicht datieren in das 1. Jh. n.Chr. Der Fundort liegt in unmittelbarer Nähe der Thermen.

<sup>82</sup> Zu den Maßen siehe z.B. Schwinden (1985) 121-122.

Das Etikett ist auf beiden Seiten so beschrieben, daß sich die eingeschlagene Öse (Durchmesser: ca. 2 mm) auf beiden Seiten links des Textes befindet. Man las den fortlaufenden Text also, indem man das Etikett um seine Längsachse drehte. Auch dies ist bei solchen Etiketten üblich.<sup>83</sup> Der Text wurde mit einem *stilus* ins Blei eingeritzt; Buchstabenhöhe: ca. 4 mm (das C auf der Rückseite in Z. 2: 6 mm).

Beim A ist die Querhaste stets durch einen senkrechten Strich ersetzt, der größtenteils unterhalb des A steht.<sup>84</sup> Auf der Rückseite steht das C in der zweiten Zeile halb in der ersten Zeile.

Auf dem Etikett ist zu lesen:

Vorderseite: *ATTICUS*  
*CORTICIVM*  
 Rückseite: *PXCII AXXXIII*

C

Die Funktion solcher Etiketten, die in großer Zahl bekannt, aber vielfach noch nicht oder nur unzureichend publiziert sind, hat Frei-Stolba treffend umschrieben. Sie "dienten offenbar für die kurzfristige Kennzeichnung eines Gegenstandes, eines Paktes [lies: Pakets], einer Warenlieferung usw. und wurden immer dann verwendet, wenn man heute eine Etikette, einen Zettel verwenden würde".<sup>85</sup> Sie wurden mittels Schnur oder Draht durch das Loch an der Ware befestigt. Es gibt zahlreiche Formen des Formulars. Die Texte sind oft schwer verständlich, da unbekannte Abkürzungen verwendet werden und die Etiketten Bereichen der Produktion und des Handels entstammen, die uns nicht mehr kenntlich sind und mit deren Abläufen wir nicht vertraut sind.<sup>86</sup> Eine vergleichsweise gut zu verstehende Gruppe Etiketten nennt (in dieser Reihenfolge) den Produzenten/Lieferanten, das Produkt, die Menge und den Preis, wobei die Vorderseite dann meist den Produzenten/Lieferanten und das Produkt

<sup>83</sup> Vgl. z.B. Römer-Martijnse (1990) 9; (1997) 5.

<sup>84</sup> Diese Form ist z.B. auch in den pompeianischen Wandinschriften zu finden; siehe *CIL* IV, Tafel I, Form I 2 b; für Bleitäfelchen s. Egger (1961-1963) 186 (auch 1. Jh. n.Chr.).

<sup>85</sup> Frei-Stolba (1984) 127. Über den Bestand der Überlieferung dort, S. 135-136; Römer-Martijnse (1990) 231-233; Rouquette (2006) 304-305. Literatur in Weiss (1991) 211 Anm. 1-2. Zahlreiche Etiketten sind nun ediert in Radman-Livaja (2014), einige auch in Jacques & Hoët-Van Cauwenbergh (2010).

<sup>86</sup> Musterbeispiele für die Verständnisschwierigkeiten liefern die vielen Etiketten aus Kalsdorf in der Steiermark in Römer-Martijnse (1990) oder die Etiketten aus Oberwinterthur in Frei-Stolba (1984). Die Namen im Nominativ auf den Etiketten in Römer-Martijnse (1997) scheinen eher die Auftraggeber zu bezeichnen, wie die Herausgeberin (S. 23) vermutet.



oder nur ersteren enthält.<sup>87</sup> Oft steht der Name des Produzenten/Lieferanten im Genitiv und der des Produkts im Nominativ,<sup>88</sup> doch gibt es auch Fälle, in denen ersterer im Nominativ und das Produkt im Akkusativ steht.<sup>89</sup> Zu dieser Gruppe gehört allem Anschein nach unser Etikett.

Das gelieferte Produkt war hier *corticium*. Als Substantiv ist das Wort, das von *cortex* ("Kork, Rinde") abgeleitet ist, in dieser Form nicht bezeugt. Doch scheint dasselbe Produkt in einem anderen Warenetikett aus Trier erwähnt zu werden. Sein erster Herausgeber Schwinden las es folgendermaßen:<sup>90</sup> Vorderseite: *MARTI* | *CORTIIX*; Rückseite: *PXVIII* | (Zeichen für Denare oder Sesterzen) *I*. Er interpretierte es als *Marti* | *cortex* (oder weniger wahrscheinlich *corticx*) | *p(ondo)* *XVIII* | (*sestertii* oder *denarii*) *I*. Bei *cortex* könne es sich um Kork oder Rinde handeln.

Weiß schlägt auf der Basis des Fotos in der Edition vor, *Marti* | *corticu(m)* zu lesen. Er lehnt die Interpretation des Zeichens auf der Rückseite als Denarzeichen ab, diejenige als Sesterzzeichen erachtet er als möglich, aber unsicher.<sup>91</sup> In *corticum* sieht er eine Nebenform des Adjektivs *corticeus* oder *corticus* ("aus Kork"), wobei letztere aber nicht belegt sei. *Corticum* bezeichne ein nicht näher zu bestimmendes 'cortex-Produkt'. Inzwischen ist das Adjektiv *corticus* aber in Vindolanda bezeugt, wo von *saga corticia* die Rede ist. Adams geht hier in überzeugender Weise von einer Weiterentwicklung der Bedeutung von "aus Rinde" zu "mit Rinde bearbeitet, gegerbt" aus. Es handle sich um lederne Mäntel.<sup>92</sup> Bei der Lieferung in unserem Etikett ging es daher wohl um ein Kork- oder Rinden-Produkt.

Bevor die Frage nach der Identität des Produktes weiter behandelt werden kann, ist zunächst auf den Text der Rückseite einzugehen. *P* ist als *p(ondo)* zu verstehen;<sup>93</sup> 92 römische Pfund entsprechen 30,1254 Kilogramm. Das folgende *A* bedeutet dann *a(sses/ssibus)*. Daß ein Preis mit 33 Assen und nicht in Denaren (d.h. 2 Denare, 1 As) angegeben ist, mag verwundern; Preisangaben in Denaren sind zudem häufig in solchen Texten.<sup>94</sup> Doch

<sup>87</sup> Produzent/Lieferant und Produkt auf Vorderseite z.B. auf den drei Etiketten in Schwinden (2004) 87-90. Nur Produzent auf der Vorderseite auf den Etiketten in Egger (1961-1963).

<sup>88</sup> Z.B. auf den drei Etiketten in Schwinden (2004) 87-90; *AE* 1991, 330; *AE* 1991, 332; *AE* 1985, 681a mit der Korrektur in Weiss (1991) 218.

<sup>89</sup> Z.B. bei den Nr. 1, 2-4 und 6 in Eggen (1961-1963); *AE* 1991, 331.

<sup>90</sup> Schwinden (1985) 134-137, hier 134 = *AE* 1985, 681d.

<sup>91</sup> Weiss (1991) 219. Diese Lesung übernommen in *EDCS*-08300469.

<sup>92</sup> *AE* 1996, 957 mit Adams (2007) 606-609.

<sup>93</sup> Zu *P* = *p(ondo)* auf den Bleietiketten s. Römer-Martijnse (1990) 218.

<sup>94</sup> Denare z.B. in den Etiketten in Egger (1961-1963); Römer-Martijnse (1997) 28 (Tabelle). Der Preis scheint selten in Sesterzen angegeben zu sein; Sesterzen neben anderen Einheiten in den Nr. 1-5 in Egger (1967).



finden sich Parallelen für Preisangaben in Assen auch für Beträge, die über den Wert eines Denars oder Sesterzes hinausgehen.<sup>95</sup> Dies ist vielleicht damit zu erklären, daß man eine Preisangabe in zwei unterschiedlichen Nominalen vermeiden wollte.

Unerklärt muß C in Z. 2 bleiben, das halb in Z. 1 hineinragt. Seine Position spricht für eine Abkürzung mit Bezug auf den Produktions- oder Handelsvorgang. Die genauen Details darüber entgehen uns, da wir nicht wissen, ob wir in Atticus den Produzenten/Lieferanten, Zwischenhändler/Großhändler oder Einzelhändler vor Ort zu erblicken haben. Der Name ist nicht selten in Germania Inferior; keiner der uns bekannten Träger des Namens kommt für eine Identifizierung in Frage.<sup>96</sup>

Der Preis ist mit 33 Assen für 92 Pfund sehr niedrig und entspricht ca. 0,36 Assen pro Pfund. Wenn man das Zeichen auf dem Trierer Etikett als Zeichen für Sesterzen versteht, was möglich zu sein scheint,<sup>97</sup> kostete das dortige *cortex*-Produkt 4 Asse für 18 Pfund, d.h. 0,22 Asse pro Pfund. Zieht man regionale Preisunterschiede und die unterschiedliche Datierung in Betracht,<sup>98</sup> ist es gut möglich, daß es sich beide Male um dasselbe Produkt handelte.

Schwinden hat ausführlich die Verwendung von Kork und Rinde in römischer Zeit besprochen.<sup>99</sup> Von den dort genannten Arten der Verwendung denkt man im Fall von Heerlen zunächst an Verschlüsse von Öl- und Parfümfläschchen im Zusammenhang mit dem Thermenbetrieb oder an solche für Krüge, die in Heerlen in großer Stückzahl produziert wurden. Dann wäre *cortic(i)um* als Kork(verschluß) zu deuten. 30 Kilogramm unbehandelter Kork haben ein Volumen von ca. 250 Litern,<sup>100</sup> was viel zu viel für Öl- oder Parfümfläschchen allein ist.<sup>101</sup> Aber als Bestellung eines

<sup>95</sup> Z.B. die Bleietiketten: AE 2006, 796: *Sever(us) | P(ubli) ser(vus) || p(ondo) XVIII | a(sses) LXV* (unbekanntes Produkt); AE 2004, 947: *Saecurii | passeri || p(ondo) IIX | a(sses) XIIIX* (unwahrscheinlicher XII; der Herausgeber L. Schwinden schreibt *a(sses?)*); AE 1996, 1086a-b: *Turtu(res) | XII || minuti | l(ibrarum) XIII a(ssibus) | XXIII*. Auch die Preisangaben für Prostituierte in den pompeianischen Graffiti sind oft in Assen angegeben, z.B. CIL IV 8812: *Arruntius | XXVII | a(ssibus)*.

<sup>96</sup> Kakoschke (2006-2008) II 1, 133-135 (CN 360) hat 9 Belege für Germania Inferior.

<sup>97</sup> Es handelt sich um die linke Hälfte eines H, gefolgt von einem spiegelverkehrtem S.

<sup>98</sup> Schwinden (1985) 137 datiert das Trierer Etikett mit aller Vorsicht aus paläographischen Gründen ins 2. Jh. n.Chr.

<sup>99</sup> Schwinden (1985) 136-137; vgl. schon Blümner (1879) 264-266; Makkonen (1969) 35-37.

<sup>100</sup> Information erhalten vom Korkhändler Kurk24 ([www.kurk24.nl](http://www.kurk24.nl)), dem wir herzlich danken.

<sup>101</sup> Bei einem Volumen von 1,5 cm<sup>3</sup> pro Korkverschluß reicht die Bestellung für 170000 Stück.

der vielen lokalen Keramikproduzenten wäre die Lieferung denkbar, wenn man annimmt, daß dieser seine Gefäße mit Deckeln oder Stöpseln verkaufte. Wenngleich Korkdeckel für Keramik belegt sind, wurden solche Gefäße jedoch häufiger mit keramischen oder hölzernen Verschlüssen versehen.<sup>102</sup> Zudem scheint der Preis für Kork zu niedrig zu sein, wenn man bedenkt, daß er aus dem westlichen Mittelmeergebiet importiert werden mußte und hier, wie es scheint, nicht mehr das Rohprodukt, sondern ein verarbeitetes Produkt verkauft wurde. Daher handelte es sich bei *corticium* wohl um ein Produkt aus Rinde. Schwinden verweist für ihre Verwendung auf Plin. *nat.* 16.35:

Auch die Rinde der Buche, der Linde, der Tanne und der Kiefer wird von den Bauern viel verwendet. Sie stellen daraus Gefäße, Körbe und Bütten her zum Sammeln der Ernten und zur Weinlese, auch Wetterdächer für ihre Hütten. (Übers. Roderich König/Joachim Hopp).

Auch für Sohlen von Sandalen,<sup>103</sup> Bienenstöcke<sup>104</sup> und zum Gerben von Tierhäuten wurde Rinde verwendet,<sup>105</sup> die Rinde der Linde außerdem für Bänder.<sup>106</sup> Daß *corticium* angesichts des niedrigen Preises Gefäße o.ä. bezeichnet, ist unwahrscheinlich; es kann sich aber um Rinde handeln, die bereits zu einem der oben genannten Zwecke vorbereitet wurde, etwa indem sie zurechtgeschnitten oder auf bestimmte Teile reduziert wurde. Besonders attraktiv ist aufgrund der Parallele aus Vindolanda ein Bezug zur Lederproduktion. Für die Gerbung wurde zumeist gemahlene Eichenrinde verwendet. Man könnte daher im Hinblick auf den Gerbprozeß bei *corticium* an gemahlene oder von der Borke befreite Rinde denken,<sup>107</sup> was mit dem niedrigen Preis vereinbar wäre.

Ein Zusammenhang mit dem Gerben von Leder wird vielleicht auch durch zooarchäologische Untersuchungen in der Umgebung des Fundorts

<sup>102</sup> Zu den Verschlüssen s. z.B. Koehler (1986); Cashman e.a. (1999); Bos e.a. (2000); Denecker & Vanderpe (2007). Hölzerne Zapfen und Deckel: Fellmann (1991) 29, 37 (H 63-65); Hedinger & Leuzinger (2002) 105-107 (Nr. 52-61; Nr. 61 aus Kork).

<sup>103</sup> Hinweis von Dr. Carol van Driel-Murray (Leiden).

<sup>104</sup> Plin. *nat.* 21.80.

<sup>105</sup> Siehe Blümner (1912) 267-268; Kupferschmid (2001) 28; Adams (2007) 606-609. Zur Verwendung von Eichenrinde in der Altgrubengerbung noch heute s. [http://www.lederpedia.de/veroeffentlichungen/altgrubengerbung\\_-\\_die\\_traditionelle\\_gerbung\\_mit\\_eichenrinde](http://www.lederpedia.de/veroeffentlichungen/altgrubengerbung_-_die_traditionelle_gerbung_mit_eichenrinde). Grundlegend zur Lederproduktion in der Antike sind die Arbeiten von van Driel-Murray, z.B. (2001), (2008), (2011). Zur Lederproduktion und -verarbeitung in der südlichen Germania Inferior s. Rothenhöfer (2005) 185-188.

<sup>106</sup> Plin. *nat.* 16.65.

<sup>107</sup> Siehe dazu z.B. Bergmann e.a. (1931).

gestützt. Maaïke Groot hat den Fund einer größeren Anzahl von Knochenzapfen von Rinderhörner in 'Haus 1A' an der Nordseite der Thermen, das sich in unmittelbarer Nähe zum Fundplatzes des Warenetiketts befindet, als möglichen Hinweis auf das Gerben von Leder oder Hornbearbeitung interpretiert.<sup>108</sup> Dieses Material gehört wie unser Fund in das 1. Jh. n.Chr. Auch hat sie die Reste von Fuß- und Kopffragmenten von Schafen oder Ziegen in 'Grube 7', die sich ebenfalls in der Nähe befindet, als möglichen Hinweis auf diese Tätigkeiten gesehen.

Carol van Driel-Murray teilt uns mit, daß für die Gerbung von Leder große Mengen an zerkleinerter Rinde (Gerberlohe) erforderlich waren. Man geht etwa vom 5,5-fachen des Gewichts der Haut oder von 3-4 Kilo pro Haut aus, aber auch weit höhere Mengen sind in Berechnungen zu finden. Eine professionelle Gerberei benötigte daher viel mehr als die hier gelieferten 30 Kilo.<sup>109</sup> Es könne sich aber, so van Driel-Murray, um die Lieferung eines einzelnen Landarbeiters handeln. Noch attraktiver ist ihr Vorschlag, *corticium* als ausgelaugte Rinde zu interpretieren, die bereits zum Gerben verwendet worden ist, den sogenannten Lohkuchen.<sup>110</sup> Für die spätere Zeit ist bezeugt, daß dieses Material gepreßt, getrocknet und als Düngemittel oder Brandstoff verkauft wurde. Eine solche Deutung würde in der Tat den Namen, die kleine Menge, den geringen Preis und den Verkauf in unmittelbarer Nähe einer Gerberei erklären.

Sowohl die Interpretation des zooarchäologischen Befunds als auch die des Warenetiketts als Hinweise auf Gerberei müssen natürlich hypothetisch bleiben. Durch die Nähe der beiden Fundorte scheinen sie einander aber zu ergänzen und zu stützen.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Groot (im Druck). Wir danken Frau Dr. Maaïke Groot (FU Berlin) für die Erlaubnis, die Resultate ihres Rapports schon an dieser Stelle zu verwenden.

<sup>109</sup> Email vom 14.3.2018. Wir danken Frau Dr. Carol van Driel-Murray (Leiden) für die Auskunft.

<sup>110</sup> Hierzu siehe auch van Driel-Murray (2011) 79.

<sup>111</sup> Diese Interpretation würde noch an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnen, wenn man den ersten Namensbestandteil von *Coriovallum* von lateinisch *corium* ("Haut, Leder") ableiten könnte, was dann auf eine besondere Bedeutung der Lederproduktion weisen könnte. Doch geht man hier allgemein von einem keltischen Bestandteil (*corio* = "Heer") aus; zur Etymologie siehe etwa Tummers (1962) 14-18; (1965); Weisgerber (1969) 240-241, 351, 355-356; Delamarre (2003) 125, s.v. *corios*. Im zweiten Bestandteil sieht man entweder das lateinische *vallum* ("Mauer"; so z.B. Delamarre a.a.O.: "Muraille-Défensive"), oder das keltische Suffix *-allos*, dem ein Übergangskonsonant vorangeht, wobei man dann den Namen interpretiert als "Heeresstandort" ("legerplaats", so z.B. Tummers, a.a.O.).

Das Warenetikett ist also zu verstehen als:

*Atticus* | *corticium* || *p(ondo)* *XCII a(sses)* *XXXIII* | *C( )*

*Atticus* (hat) | *corticium* (= ein Rindenprodukt) (geliefert), || 92 Pfund  
(zum Preis von) 33 Assen | *C( )*

#### 4) GRAFFITO AUF PANZERVERSCHLUSSBLECH



Foto 9



Foto 10

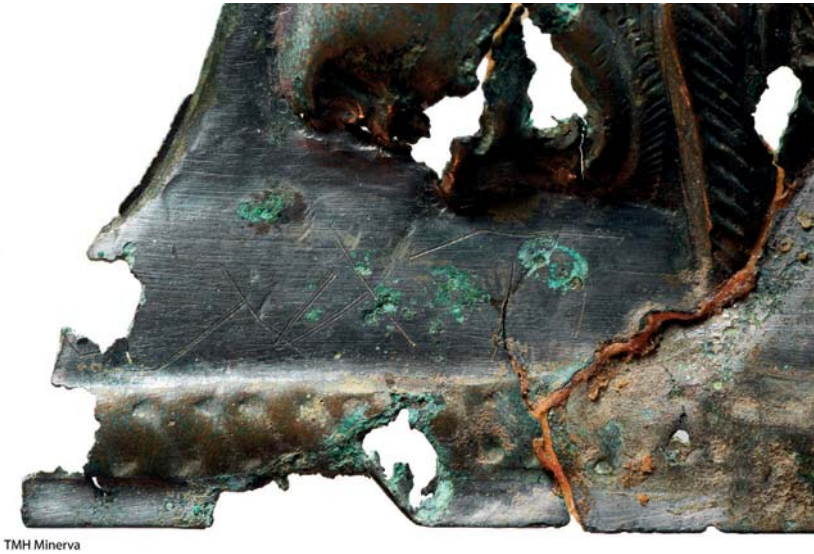


Foto 11





Foto 12



Foto 13

(Fotos 9-13: Restauro im Auftrag des Thermenmuseums)

Oberer Teil eines Panzerverschlußblechs aus Buntmetall (Inventarnummer: 4264); maximale Höhe: 7,5 cm, Breite: 6,5 cm. Es wurde 1940/41 an der Südseite der Coriovallumstraat auf dem Thermenterrain in der nördlichen Ummauerung gefunden. Das Blech gehört (aus der Sicht des Trägers) zur rechten Hälfte eines zweiteiligen Verschlusses;<sup>112</sup> im oberen Feld Rest eines Adlers, im mittleren Feld Minervakopf, das untere Feld ist verloren. Man ordnet heute diese Verschlüsse nicht mehr der Paraderüstung der Reiter, sondern der gewöhnlichen Ausrüstung der Infanteristen zu, sowohl in den Legionen als auch in den Auxilia.<sup>113</sup> Schamper datiert unser Stück ins 2./3. Jh. n.Chr.<sup>114</sup> Auf der vom Träger aus gesehen linken Seite, parallel zum Schnurstabrahmen, der die beiden Bildfelder einschließt, befindet sich ein bisher unbeachtetes Graffito, das mit einem dünnen spitzen Gegenstand eingekratzt wurde; Buchstabenhöhe: 4-6 mm. Das erste Wort steht links, das zweite rechts der Spitze des Helms der Minervas. Es ist zu lesen:

*JQ NATI AQVE+*

A ist beide Male ohne vertikale Haste geschrieben und gleicht einem Lambda; die Querhaste des T ist sehr langgezogen und überragt das folgende I. Das Q ist teilweise von Korrosion überdeckt, aber gut kenntlich. Was gewöhnlich ein Kreis ist, ist hier eckig und hat die Form einer Raute; der Abstrich ist eine geradlinige Verlängerung der rechten oberen Seite der Raute. Dieselbe Rautenform ist für das O anzunehmen, von dem unterhalb des Lochs noch die untere Spitze der Raute und eine Linie in der Bruchkante zu sehen ist. Vom V ist der rechte Arm gut sichtbar, der linke wurde wegen des Rahmens etwas schwächer ausgeführt. Von der Schrift danach sind nur die nahe beieinanderstehenden unteren Hälften von zwei leicht schrägen Hasten zu sehen, die obere Hälfte der Schrift ist durch die Öse weggefallen. In der Biegung der Öse sind noch Spuren der beiden Hasten zu sehen. Ein Kratzer über dem Loch ist zu hoch, um zur Schrift zu gehören. Rechts vom Loch befindet sich Korrosion. Am

<sup>112</sup> Editionen und Diskussionen des Beschlags: Garbsch (1978) 78 (P 12), Taf. 36.5; Garbsch (2000) 118 (Nr. 34); Schamper (2015) 50-51; 224 (C 2, Nr. 45); Hoss (im Druck 2) Kap. 2.3.

<sup>113</sup> Siehe zur Zuordnung zur Infanterie Pfahl (2013); als Teil der Paraderüstung der Reiter: Garbsch (1978) 33-34; als Teil der Kampfausrüstung der Reiter: Schamper (2015) 50-51.

<sup>114</sup> Schamper (2015) 224, gefolgt von Hoss (im Druck 2) § 2.3; ebenso Garbsch (1978) 78. Nach Fischer (2012) 165 sind derartige Verschlüsse ab der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.s belegt.

besten passen die Reste zum unteren Teil eines ‘gallischen E’ ( II ).<sup>115</sup> Diese Lesung ist der Interpretation der Reste als IT vorzuziehen, da T hier wenig wahrscheinlich ist. Seine Querhaste ist im ersten Wort sehr lang. Von einer solchen ist aber auf der Höhe, auf der sie sich hier befinden müßte, nichts zu sehen. Auf dem hochauflösenden Foto erkennt man gut, daß unter der Korrosion keine Linie eingeritzt war. Will man also hier nicht eine andere Form des T annehmen als beim T davor, muß man von dieser Lesung absehen. Die Deutung als ‘gallisches E’ ist zudem attraktiv, da die Striche nahe beieinander stehen (was aber auch durch Platzmangel erklärt werden könnte) und leicht schräg sind. Dies ist auch sonst bei ‘gallischem E’ zu finden,<sup>116</sup> während I und T in derselben Zeile gerade Striche haben. Auch IC wäre vielleicht möglich, doch ist kein Wort *aquic-* bekannt. Danach ist eine leicht schräge, von unten nach oben aufsteigende Linie zu sehen, die zu einem Buchstaben gehört, der wegen des Rahmens nicht vollständig ausgeführt wurde. Sie paßt zu N oder A, vielleicht auch zu einem schmalen S, wie Andreas Schaub vorschlägt.

Auf der Grundlage des oben Dargelegten ist daher *Aquē(n)sis* oder eventuell *Aquē(n)is* viel wahrscheinlicher als *Aquīta(ni)*.

Man kann die Wörter als Gentilnomen plus Cognomen interpretieren, was aber wenig attraktiv ist, da für das Gentilnomen dann nur die äußerst seltenen Donatius,<sup>117</sup> Tonatius<sup>118</sup> und Bonatius<sup>119</sup> in Frage kämen. Daher wird man im ersten Wort lieber ein Cognomen sehen, am ehesten das häufige Donatus.<sup>120</sup> Weniger wahrscheinlich sind die seltenen Coronatus<sup>121</sup> und Conatius.<sup>122</sup> Bei Aquensis handelt es sich um ein Cognomen, das auch andernorts bezeugt ist.<sup>123</sup> Daher liegt hier wohl eine Eigentümerinschrift vor, bei der zuerst der Zenturio und dann der Eigentümer

<sup>115</sup> Zur Häufigkeit dieser Form des E auf *instrumentum domesticum* s. Pfahl (2012) 41 mit Belegen.

<sup>116</sup> Siehe *CIL* IV, Tafel I, Form III 4 und IV 11.

<sup>117</sup> *OPEL* II 107 mit drei Belegen.

<sup>118</sup> Solin & Salomies (1994) 189; nur *AE* 1949, 206.

<sup>119</sup> *AE* 1993, 302; *CIL* III 10493e = *TitAg* II 876 (unsicher). Horonatius und Pomponatius (in Solin & Salomies (1994) 94, 146) sowie Aconatius (in *ICUR* X 27373) sind wohl Phantomnamen.

<sup>120</sup> *OPEL* II 107. Für Donatus verzeichnet Kakoschke (2010) 311-312 (CN 529) für die Gallia Belgica 6 Belege, für die germanischen Provinzen hat Kakoschke (2006-2008) II 1, 308-309 (CN 1117) 7 für Germania Inferior und 11 für Germania Superior.

<sup>121</sup> Kajanto (1965) 351.

<sup>122</sup> *CIL* III 12014,30 u.ö. Ganz unsicher sind die Cognomina Nonatius (*CIL* IV 10393) und Antonatius (*CIL* XII 1194).

<sup>123</sup> Kajanto (1965) 47, 208; Solin & Salomies (1994) 294; *OPEL* I 157; Kakoschke (2006-2008) II 1, 115 (CN 266).



des Stücks jeweils mit dem Genitiv des Cognomens bezeichnet wird, wobei natürlich offenbleiben muß, ob vom Zenturio auch das Gentilnomen erwähnt war.<sup>124</sup> Im militärischen Bereich sind gepunktete Eigentümervermerke zwar weit häufiger als geritzte, doch kommen auch diese gelegentlich vor.<sup>125</sup>

Zu verstehen ist das Graffito demnach als:<sup>126</sup>

[> (*centuriae*) *D?*] *onati Aquen(sis)*

(Eigentum) des Aquensis [aus der Zenturie des *D?*] *onatus*

Man könnte versucht sein, hier einen “Donatus aus Aquae” zu sehen und einen Bezug zum nur 20 Kilometer entfernten Aachen herzustellen, für das seit karolingischer Zeit die Namen *Aquis*, *Aquisgrani*, *vicus/civitas/urbs Aquensis*, *oppidum Aquense* u.ä. bezeugt sind.<sup>127</sup> Dagegen spricht aber, daß auf den Inschriften anderer Brustpanzerbeschläge keine Herkunftsangaben zu finden sind und solche überhaupt auf Eigentümerinschriften äußerst selten sind.<sup>128</sup>

Unsere Namensangabe wurde eingeritzt, bevor das Befestigungsloch eingeschlagen wurde. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich dabei um eine sekundäre Lochung, die erforderlich wurde, da das ursprüngliche Loch ausgerissen war.<sup>129</sup> Leider läßt unser Stück keine sicheren Schlüsse auf die Präsenz von aktiven Soldaten oder Veteranen in *Coriovallum* zu, da derartige Stücke auch in zivilen Kontexten gefunden wurden, wo sie, wie es scheint, als Altmetall wiederverwendet wurden.<sup>130</sup> Allerdings ist zu

<sup>124</sup> Vgl. Pfahl (2012) 48. Aber die Verwendung des Nominativs ist auf Ausrüstungsteilen ebenfalls häufig: Schamper (2015) 73-74 (mit einer unkorrekten Deutung der Namen im Genitiv).

<sup>125</sup> Liste in Pfahl (2012) 50 mit Anm. 1761. Eine geritzte Inschrift auf einem Brustpanzerbeschlag in Pfahl (2013) 136, Nr. 19.

<sup>126</sup> Zum Verständnis der Inschrift haben die freundlichen Hinweise von Prof. Dr. Markus Scholz (Frankfurt am Main), PD Dr. Stefan F. Pfahl (Düsseldorf) und Dr. Marcus Reuter (Trier) maßgeblich beigetragen. Wir danken außerdem Dr. Andreas Schaub (Aachen) für die Herstellung von hochauflösenden Fotos und die Vermittlung der Kontakte zu den Spezialisten.

<sup>127</sup> Zum antiken Namen Aachens siehe Galsterer (1992-1993) 22-23; vgl. Schaub (2013) 135. Diskussion der mittelalterlichen Bezeichnungen in Schiffers (1923) 3-10; Cramer (1923/1925) 183-187; Mann (1984) 1-11.

<sup>128</sup> Wir danken den oben, Anm. 126, genannten Spezialisten für ihre Hinweise und die Argumente, die gegen eine solche Interpretation sprechen.

<sup>129</sup> Hinweis PD Dr. Stefan F. Pfahl (Düsseldorf).

<sup>130</sup> Hinweis Dr. Marcus Reuter (Trier); zur sekundären Verwendung von Metallschrott, darunter auch Beschläge, siehe Pfahl & Reuter (1996) v.a. 124, 126-128, 140.

bedenken, daß es zu der größeren Gruppe militärischer Kleinfunde vom Thermengebiet gehört, deren Interpretation noch aussteht.<sup>131</sup>

##### 5) EIGENTÜMERINSCRIFT AUF BRONZELOT



(Fotos 14 & 15: Restauration im Auftrag des Thermenmuseums)

<sup>131</sup> Siehe oben, S. 238-239.

Höhe: 6,4 cm; maximaler Durchmesser Kegel: 4,8 cm; Durchmesser Kopf: 1,9 cm; Gewicht: 287 Gramm. Das Material ist Bronze mit einem Bleikern (?).<sup>132</sup> Das Lot ist kegelförmig und hat einen pilzförmigen Aufsatz, dessen Kopf senkrecht und waagrecht durchbohrt ist; auf dem Kegel umlaufende Rillen.<sup>133</sup> Das Thermenmuseum kaufte das Stück 1994 von einer Privatperson an (Inventarnummer: 21404); als Fundort wurde Deutschland angegeben.

Der Text der Inschrift lautet:

> (*centuriae*) *Albi[n]i Victoris* vacat +*M+++C+* *Respecti*

Eigentum des [Gentilnomen] *Respectus* aus der Zenturie des *Albinus Victor*

Die Inschrift wurde auf den Rand der oberen Fläche des Kegels gepunktet und ist mit etwas Mühe lesbar. Nach *Albi[n]* ist die Oberfläche beschädigt, doch ist anzunehmen, daß sich zwischen den Namen ein *Vacat* von 1-2 Buchstaben Länge befand. Der Name vor *Respectus* ist nicht mehr lesbar, da der Rand des Lots beschädigt ist, so daß die obere Hälfte der Buchstaben fehlt. Statt *M* ist auch *R* möglich. Unsicher ist, ob davor noch ein Buchstabe stand. Vielleicht ist dort die obere Hälfte eines *centuria*-Zeichens zu erkennen, doch ist dies sehr unsicher. Nach *M* folgen Buchstabenreste, die wie drei senkrechte Hasten aussehen. Unsicher ist, ob nach *C* noch ein Buchstabe folgte.

Als fundamentale Werkzeuge für Bau und Vermessung gehörten Lote zur Standardausrüstung der römischen Armee.<sup>134</sup> Gelegentlich weisen sie gepunktete Inschriften auf, die sie als Eigentum einer Einheit oder eines einzelnen Soldaten kennzeichnen.<sup>135</sup> Wenn, wie es scheint, kein zweites *centuria*-Zeichen auf unserem Lot stand, nennt es zwei Personen, den Zenturio und den Soldaten, dem das Lot gehörte. Daß beide mit Gentilnomen und Cognomen genannt sind, ist bei Eigentümerinschriften sehr

<sup>132</sup> Lote aus Bronze mit Bleikern: Brouwer (1993) 47 mit Abb. (Voorburg / *Forum Hadriani*); Binsfeld e.a. (1977-1978) 443 (Wederath / *Belginum*); Hedinger & Leuzinger (2002) 98 (Nr. 29).

<sup>133</sup> Die Terminologie der physischen Beschreibung lehnt sich an Pfahl (2012) 189 an.

<sup>134</sup> Adam (2005) 11-20, 35-36, 42-44.

<sup>135</sup> Eigentum der Einheit: *AE* 1992, 1298 (= Wiegels (1992) 396): *c(o)ho(rtis) I*; Pfahl (2012) 189 (Nr. 382): > *P. Romanti* (Pfahl versteht dies als *Romanti(ni)*); wohl Eigentum eines Soldaten, der unter drei Zenturionen diente: *CIL* XIII 10027.224: > *Creperi* > *Şenti Corneli Adiut[oris]* > *Ruill[i]?*. Vgl. auch den Winkel, der Brouwer (1993) 47 abgebildet ist und dessen gepunktete Inschrift nach dem Photo lautet: > *Pusillionis Terti*. Unklar, ob ein oder zwei Personen: *CIL* XIII 10027.220 = Pfahl (2012) 189 (Nr. 381): > *Candidi Eli*; nicht lesbar ist die Inschrift auf dem Lot in Pfahl (2012) 189 (Nr. 383).

häufig.<sup>136</sup> Ein Zenturio Albinus Victor ist sonst nicht bekannt. Unsicher ist, ob sein Gentilname hier als italisch (etruskisch) oder — wie bei Valentinus (Nr. 1) — als ‘rheinisches Pseudogentiliz’ zu verstehen ist.<sup>137</sup> Respectus ist ein häufiges Cognomen in Inschriften, die in Deutschland gefunden wurden; unter den Trägern befinden sich viele Soldaten.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Siehe oben, S. 227-229.

<sup>137</sup> Etruskisch: Schulze (1904) 118-120 mit Beispielen aus dem italischen Raum; vgl. Weiserber (1969 = 1938) 111; anders, wie es scheint, Weisgerber (1972) 933; Kakoschke (2006-2008) I 66 (GN 43: 5 Belege in Germania Inferior; kein Beleg in Germania Superior): “italischen GN oder einheimisches PseudoGN, abgeleitet von lat. CN Albinus”.

<sup>138</sup> Für Germania Superior und Inferior s. Kakoschke (2006-2008) II 2, 258-259 (CN 2574: 22 Belege); Raetia: Kakoschke (2009) 263 (CN 555: 2 Belege); Gallia Belgica: Kakoschke (2010) 470 (CN 1162: 5 Belege). Auch in den umliegenden Provinzen ist der Name sehr häufig: s. *OPEL* IV 26-27.

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## THE SHOTGUN METHOD 2.0

### ESTIMATING POPULATION NUMBERS FOR SECOND-CENTURY AD SAGALASSOS

*Abstract:* During the last 150 years archaeologists and historians attempted to estimate the population sizes of cities and regions in the past via the application of a large variety of formulae. Most of these formulae were, however, heavily criticised, or had to rely on guesstimates. In 2006, Mogens Herman Hansen presented the ‘shotgun method’ as an alternative. Here, different calculation formulae were applied on the same context and the final result consisted of the total range of all the estimates. These ranges, however, are often too broad to make further inferences. Therefore, this paper aims — in the spirit of the ‘shotgun method’ — at surveying the population estimates to come to distributions which make it possible to select a population range with a specific probability. This refined method makes it possible to calculate both the carrying capacity and the population of a specific region or city. Consequently, inferences can be made on the population pressure and relation between an urban centre and its territory. The ancient site of Sagalassos (SW Anatolia) during the second century AD is chosen as a case study to obtain an estimate for the urban and territorial population.

#### I. INTRODUCTION

In 2006, Mogens Herman Hansen published a small book on ‘The Shotgun Method’. His main goal was to estimate “how many ancient Greeks lived in all the poleis”<sup>1</sup>. One very interesting component is the method he proposed:

To study ancient history is like hunting hares. The hunter uses a shotgun instead of a rifle. His weapon does not hit the bull’s eye and is not constructed for big game, but the spreading out of the pellets to cover a broader field is very efficient when used against smaller animals. Similarly, the quantifications presented by the ancient historian are never precise, but within certain limits they can provide us with extremely valuable information about ancient societies.<sup>2</sup>

Hansen thus contrasted two different methods. The rifle method, on the one hand, implies that a single shot is fired in a very directed, precise

<sup>1</sup> Hansen (2006) 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 1; a similar method was already applied by Zorn (1994) 31-48.

way, but that it might hit very far from the target. The shotgun method, on the other hand, increases the impact area, thus enlarging the chance of hitting whatever is in range. In practice, for estimating population numbers, Hansen used many different methods to calculate the ancient Greek population to conclude with a total range starting from the lowest estimate and ending up with the highest<sup>3</sup>. For the archaeological site of Sagalassos (SW Anatolia), both methods have been applied in the past. In 2008, Femke Martens and colleagues<sup>4</sup> chose a single method based on a formula by Josiah C. Russell<sup>5</sup>. To quantify the population of Sagalassos they multiplied the urban area with an estimated population density of 150 inhabitants/ha. Rinse Willet and Jeroen Poblome applied the shotgun method of Hansen for estimating the urban and territorial population of this city<sup>6</sup>. The range they obtained for the urban population, however, was extremely broad (between 1,500 and 5,000 individuals<sup>7</sup>). The question can be asked whether this range is still meaningful. What remains to be learned from a range which covers 70 per cent of the maximum number?

The goal of this paper, therefore, is to design a method that allows the estimation of population numbers of an ancient city or region as accurately as possible without obtaining a very broad range. This method will be tested on the case study of second-century AD Sagalassos. The site of Sagalassos is located in the Taurus mountains in southwest Anatolia, c. 100 km north of Antalya (fig. 1). The site was inhabited from late Achaemenid / early Hellenistic times until the early 13th century AD, after which community life came to an end. Within this time range, the settlement formed part of different empires and kingdoms, featuring Achaemenid, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine overlords. During its heydays in the early and middle Roman imperial periods, the city of Sagalassos as well as its territory reached their full extent. Since many research efforts have focussed on these heydays, important datasets are available for the second century. This chronological frame is thus chosen for practical, analytical reasons. This paper aims to estimate the population numbers of both the city and its territory to get a better understanding of the relationship between the two.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 73.

<sup>4</sup> Martens e.a. (2008) 137.

<sup>5</sup> Russell (1958) 68.

<sup>6</sup> Willet & Poblome (2015) 134-139.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 137.

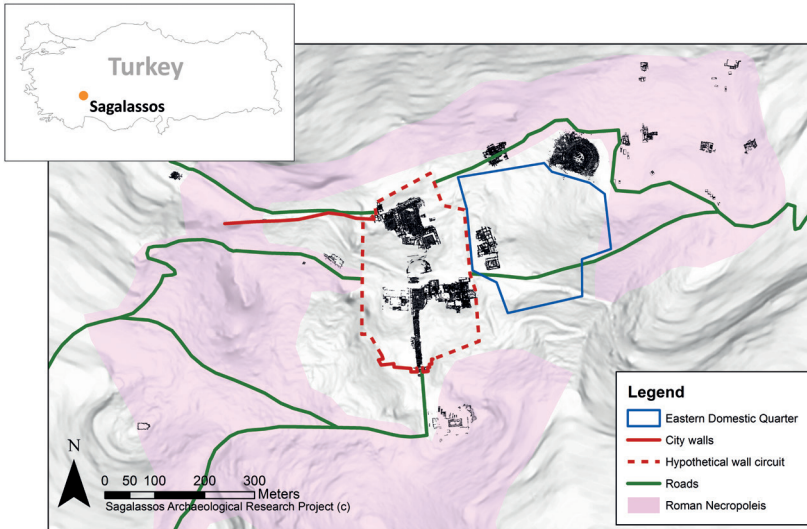


Fig. 1: A map of second century AD Sagalassos enclosed by its *necropoleis* with the eastern domestic quarter indicated in blue.

## II. METHODOLOGY

The methodology proposed here consists of three parts. The first calculates as many estimates as possible using different formulae. While discussing these, the focus will mainly be on those established within the discipline of archaeology, with an emphasis on ancient sites. The second part deals with data representation to study the distribution of population estimates. Finally, the third part will distil a limited estimation range from the data distribution. As this paper also aims at comparing urban and rural populations, it is important to make a distinction between the methods for both.

In literature, a broad variety of techniques for calculating the amount of inhabitants of settlements and regions are discussed<sup>8</sup>. Thomas H. Hollingsworth<sup>9</sup> proposed a hierarchy of the sources best used for calculating population estimates. The first non-written sources only end up at place 13 out

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Wilson (2011) 170; Schacht (1981) 119-140; Zorn (1994) 31-48; Kolb e.a. (1985) 581-599; Willigan & Lynch (1982) 40-42; Hollingsworth (1969); Chamberlain (2006) 126-132; Hassan (1978) 49-103; Drennan e.a. (2015); Hassan (1981).

<sup>9</sup> Hollingsworth (1969) 43-44.

of 19. Other authors too state that the use of archaeological sources for demography “(...) may well be a hopeless task”<sup>10</sup>. In this regard, many case studies have shown the value of the application of written sources in ancient demography<sup>11</sup>. Nevertheless, for many sites — such as Sagalassos — the proposed historical sources are not available or are insufficient for deducting population numbers. The use of archaeological sources is thus a necessity in many cases, albeit a problematic one. The main problem in this regard is probably best described by Albert J. Ammerman and colleagues:

In modern census practice, the aim is to count all of those people living over a brief period of time or even ideally at a given point in time. In contrast, the archaeologist normally has to deal with material remains that from a census point of view have accumulated over a substantial time period<sup>12</sup>.

Other historical demographers, such as Thomas H. Hollingsworth, are even more negative about the use of non-written sources:

Unwritten evidence, in fact, is rarely as valuable as the written word or figure. (...) the evidence is always indirect at best, and has to be amplified by fairly bold assumptions to produce any actual estimates of demographic levels or rates at all. The main value of the unwritten evidence is as corroboration of what can be suggested from other sources. On its own, it could be very misleading<sup>13</sup>.

Yet, archaeologists in their own right have proposed a series of techniques to estimate population numbers. Most of these are based on the extent of a specific settlement or region which is multiplied by an estimate of the population density<sup>14</sup>. Such calculations are applied on sites all around the globe: they often rely on an estimate for the population density which is specific for the site/region under study. Indeed, the area can often easily be measured, but the population density, in the words of Robert M. Schacht, is “(...) seldom more than a guess”<sup>15</sup>. Fekri A. Hassan stated that “[t]he poor correlation between site area and residential population size does not seem to provide a firm basis for demographic estimates”<sup>16</sup>. Similarly,

<sup>10</sup> van de Walle & Kantrow (1974) 614.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Bagnall & Frier (1994); Beloch (1886); Duncan-Jones (1974) 259-287.

<sup>12</sup> Ammerman e.a. (1976) 32.

<sup>13</sup> Hollingsworth (1969) 294.

<sup>14</sup> Hassan (1978) 58-59; Schacht (1981) 128-131; Chamberlain (2006) 128; De Roche (1983) 187-192; Drennan e.a. (2015) 105-108.

<sup>15</sup> Schacht (1981) 128.

<sup>16</sup> Hassan (1978) 59.

Jeffrey R. Zorn<sup>17</sup> listed all estimated population densities he could find for ancient populations. The highest estimate is 1,000 individuals per ha, while the lowest is 100-125 persons for the same ha. More recently John W. Hanson and Scott G. Ortman have listed a number of opportunities and pitfalls of this method<sup>18</sup>. It can thus be concluded that, although this method is very often applied, it is also one of the most chancy ones, because it is both case-specific and the population density is too often based on assumption.

A second technique relies on house counts which are multiplied by an estimate for the average household composition. However, an archaeological site is seldom documented to such an extent that a total house count is possible, let alone of houses which were occupied contemporarily<sup>19</sup>. Another serious issue is household size. Robert M. Schacht wrote on the estimates of household size: “Usually this is a guess, perhaps based on a minimally researched ethnographic analogy, and treated as a constant”<sup>20</sup>, a critique which is supported by many other scholars<sup>21</sup>. Treating household size as a constant is problematic as it does not take the varying family structure across time/space into account, nor does it reckon the household cycles over generations<sup>22</sup>. An often cited paper by Christy G. Turner II and Laurel Lofgren<sup>23</sup> tried to overcome the problem of the unknown average household size of the western pueblo Indians by dividing the volume of cooking vessels by that of consumption bowls. This method, however, cannot be applied for most ancient sites, because of the wide variation in consumption wares and attitudes, and diets and practices, as well as the uncertainty that households always dined together (e.g. a family and their servants living under the same roof probably ate separately). Here, historical sources — if these are available for the site or region under study — can give some solace.

Many other, albeit less practiced, techniques are proposed in literature: the seating capacity of (amphi)theatres<sup>24</sup>, the size of water supply<sup>25</sup> and necropolis data<sup>26</sup>. As for theatres, not all provided space for all inhabitants

<sup>17</sup> Zorn (1994) 34.

<sup>18</sup> Hanson & Ortman (2017) 303-304.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 33; Schacht (1981) 126.

<sup>20</sup> Schacht (1981) 125.

<sup>21</sup> Kolb (1985) 582; Zorn (1994) 33; Willigan & Lynch (1982) 41-42.

<sup>22</sup> Drennan e.a. (2015) 101-102. See for example Ian Morris' reconstruction of the family developmental cycle in Vroulia (Morris (1992) 196-197).

<sup>23</sup> Turner & Lofgren (1966) 117-132.

<sup>24</sup> Wilson (2011) 170; Duncan-Jones (1974) 261.

<sup>25</sup> Lloyd & Lewis (1977) 35-40.

<sup>26</sup> Asch (1976).



in the city. Moreover, other factors might have caused theatres to be equipped with more seats than the size of the urban population. One possible reason can be the organization of the Imperial cult in a specific urban centre, causing a temporary influx of people from the wider region. Sagalassos itself can be considered as such an example<sup>27</sup>. Indeed, theatres were not only built for the inhabitants of a city, but also for visitors from the wider region. This total, even if it can be calculated, can therefore not be used for estimating population numbers. As already indicated by Richard Duncan-Jones<sup>28</sup>, water supply to the city is not a good estimate for the urban population either, because not all of the water was used as drinking water, but for bathing facilities and nymphaea as well. Moreover, drinking water was not always gathered from public fountains but could be obtained from wells, springs or rain barrels too. Skeletal data in the past were considered unreliable for making population estimates, especially because of issues related with calculating average life expectancy<sup>29</sup>. More recently, however, they are praised for their purposes in studying demographic structure, mortality and fertility patterns, as well as sex and age distributions<sup>30</sup>.

The notion of agricultural carrying capacity has always been regarded as an important aspect in demographic studies<sup>31</sup>. The term 'carrying capacity' originally derives from the discipline of ecology, where it is defined as "the maximum population of a given organism that a particular environment can sustain", indicated with the letter  $K$ <sup>32</sup>. Although between the 1970s and '90s this concept was popular under the influence of New Archaeology conceptualizations, some authors were quite critical when it came to its application: "The practical problems involved in measuring and using 'carrying capacity' have proven the concept to be deficient in theory, unrealistic in implementation, and impossible to measure"<sup>33</sup>, Brian Hayden stated. This critique was mainly influenced by the practical pitfalls of the concept: knowledge of the diet of the inhabitants, an exact outline of the catchment area, a reconstruction of the past environment, the area needed to support a household, seasonal cycles and

<sup>27</sup> Waelkens & Poblome (2011) 120; Talloen & Waelkens (2004) 171-216; Talloen & Waelkens (2005) 217-250.

<sup>28</sup> Duncan-Jones (1978) 51; Duncan-Jones (1974) 261.

<sup>29</sup> Hollingsworth (1969) 43; Schacht (1981) 122.

<sup>30</sup> Chamberlain (2006) 81-126; Bocquet-Appel (2008) Drennan e.a. (2015) 11.

<sup>31</sup> Beloch (1886) 29-33; Zorn (1994) 33; Hassan (1978) 63-67; Hansen (2006) 77; Wilkinson (1999) 45-64.

<sup>32</sup> 'Carrying capacity' in the Oxford dictionary of ecology.

<sup>33</sup> Hayden (1975) 11.

so on. All of these aspects are in need of a detailed study and often result in speculative outcomes, which makes the eventual range of the population that can be sustained too broad to work with<sup>34</sup>. More recently, due to more detailed studies of the natural environment and the widespread application of bioarchaeological analyses, archaeologists dealing with demography get more interested again in the application of catchment analysis<sup>35</sup>. An important aspect of carrying capacity is that it is no measure for the number of people living in a specific region, but it describes the maximum population that could be sustained<sup>36</sup>. Therefore, in this paper, carrying capacity will be regarded separately from the population estimates and will be used to define the upper limit of the population size.

For estimating regional population numbers, calculations based on the total area and the carrying capacity are very similar to those discussed above. Two formulae, however, are specific for regional populations. The first one uses site counts and multiplies these by a population estimate per site type. Robert D. Drennan and colleagues gave an overview of such techniques<sup>37</sup>, while Robin Osborne presented some applications in the Mediterranean world<sup>38</sup>. This method, however, is criticized for a variety of reasons<sup>39</sup>: some sites go unnoticed during archaeological survey or might have been erased from the archaeological record due to erosion or quarrying. It is also unlikely that all sites within the same time period were simultaneously occupied. On top of that, multi-period sites make it hard to distinguish their extent during each phase of their occupation<sup>40</sup>. The main critique is similar to the method applying site areas, where the population density remains a ‘black box’. The same is true for average site population numbers, similarly deriving from estimated guesswork<sup>41</sup>. The second method is based on aDNA. The technique for measuring population sizes through genetic analysis developed in conservation ecology, because it “(...) can inform management and help predict the extinction risk of populations”<sup>42</sup>. In general, two estimates can be distinguished: the census

<sup>34</sup> Critiques by Zorn (1994) 33; Hayden (1975); Hassan (1978) 66.

<sup>35</sup> Chamberlain (2006) 12, stating “calculations of carrying capacity (...) constitute essential sources of evidence for archaeological demography”.

<sup>36</sup> Hayden (1975) 11-21; Hassan (1978) 66; Hassan (1981) 164.

<sup>37</sup> Drennan e.a. (2015).

<sup>38</sup> Osborne (2004) 163-172.

<sup>39</sup> Listed throughout Drennan e.a. (2015).

<sup>40</sup> Catling (2002) 205; Bintliff (1997) 231-252.

<sup>41</sup> Schacht (1981) 126.

<sup>42</sup> Luikart e.a. (2010) 355.

population size ( $N_c$ )<sup>43</sup> and the effective population size ( $N_e$ )<sup>44</sup>. As the census population size only takes adult individuals into account — because these can procreate and are thus more interestingly in conservational ecology — in archaeology the effective population size is used<sup>45</sup>.

After applying these methods, often resulting in very differing population ranges, there are three different ways to deal with the results. Mogens Herman Hansen<sup>46</sup> encourages scholars to use the maximum range of all outcomes combined, while Jeffrey R. Zorn<sup>47</sup> gears the different results to each other. For example, if one is investigating a settlement with 200 houses and a surface of 1.7 ha<sup>48</sup>, an estimated population density of 200 individuals per ha results in a household size of only 1.7 people, which is considered too low. The population density thus needs to be higher. Similarly, John W. Hanson and Scott G. Ortman<sup>49</sup> first calculated the population density based on the amount of houses per hectare, multiplied by an average household size of five people. In a second step they multiplied this constant with the total domestic area of a city or town. This paper will make use of a fourth method, which scrutinizes the data distribution to deduce the probability of specific population ranges. Five distributions (fig. 2) will be taken into account:

- (1) The total range: All estimates between the lowest and the highest population number define this range. This method is the one proposed by Hansen in his ‘shotgun method’<sup>50</sup>. These ranges are very broad to work with.
- (2) The total range limited by the carrying capacity: As was discussed above, the carrying capacity does not result in a population estimate, but in a maximum population. The total range can thus be limited by the carrying capacity.
- (3) Range of most overlapping methods: By applying as many methods as possible, a variety of partly overlapping population ranges is

<sup>43</sup> “The number of adults in a study area or population”, Luikart e.a. (2010) 356.

<sup>44</sup> “The number of individuals that would give rise to the sampling variance or the rate of inbreeding appropriate to the conditions under consideration, if they bred in the manner of the idealised population”, Falconer (1960) 68. Developed by Wright (1931).

<sup>45</sup> E.g. Cann (2001) 1742-1748.

<sup>46</sup> Hansen (2006) 73.

<sup>47</sup> Zorn (1994) 44.

<sup>48</sup> Data from Zorn (1994) 31-48

<sup>49</sup> Hanson and Ortman (2017).

<sup>50</sup> Hansen (2006) 32.

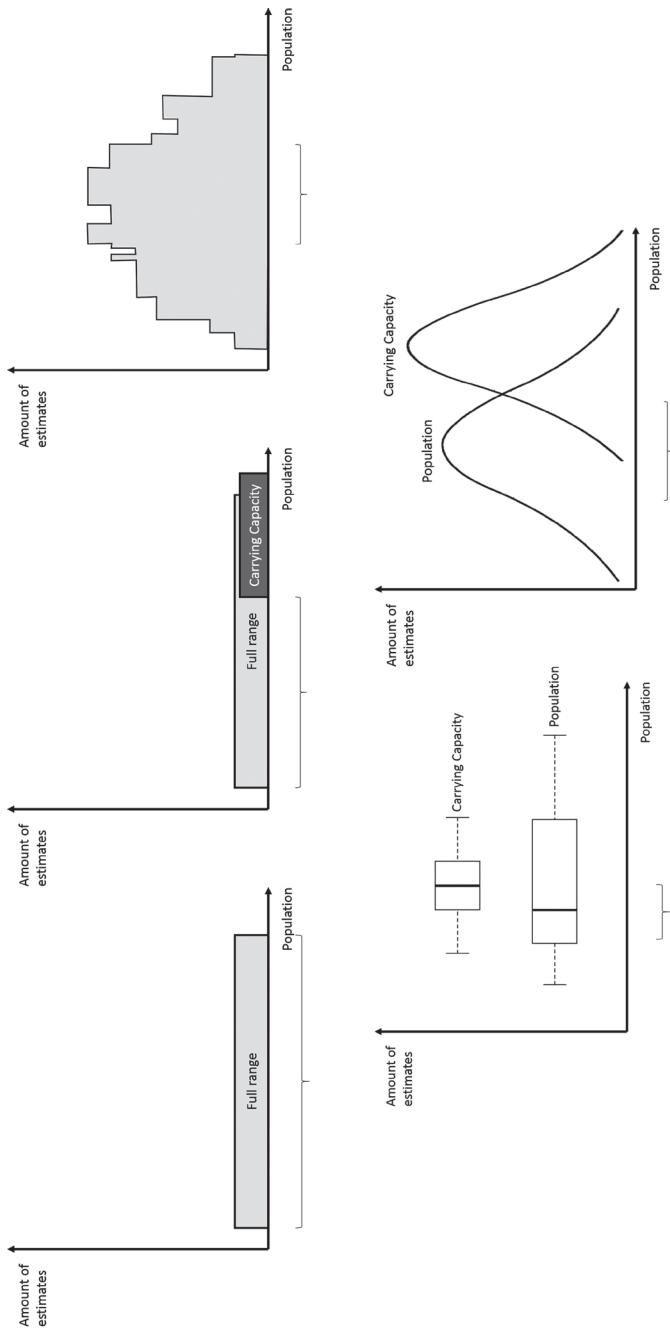


Fig. 2: The five data distribution methods for the population estimates (flr. total range, range limited by the carrying capacity, overlap of estimates, quartiles, Gaussian function).

obtained. The more ranges overlap, the larger the probability that these approximate the actual population size.

- (4) The quartiles: The data distribution can also be visualized as a box-plot. When the quartiles of the population estimates are calculated, the range of highest probability lies between the 1st and 3rd quartile. This range can further be bound from the mean of the carrying capacity data onwards.
- (5) The normal distribution: A normal distribution with a mean and standard deviation has the advantage that a range of a predetermined probability can be chosen (e.g.:  $1\sigma$  is 68.2 per cent and  $2\sigma$  is 95.4 per cent). This range can be further limited by the intersection between the population gauss curve and the curve of the carrying capacity, since this is the point where the probability of reaching the maximum population exceeds the probability of the population estimates. The problem here is that the data distribution is simplified into a fixed form, the gauss curve. In fact, this can be considered as a simplification of the data, ruling out tails.

Finally, after reaching five different ranges, these can be balanced against each other. A comparison between the ranges for the urban and rural population, as well as between the population and the carrying capacity, can be executed. This method will now be tested on second-century AD Sagalassos.

### III. URBAN POPULATION

As was referred to in the above-mentioned methods, historical sources are often considered very reliable for estimating population numbers. Many attempts in this direction, especially focusing on army numbers, have been made in the past<sup>51</sup>. If the Sagalassos case is looked into, historical sources seem to be of lesser use. The sole two ancient authors referring to demographics in Sagalassos and the wider region are Livy and Justinian. Livy, discussing the situation in the second century BC, mentions the following:

Then they entered the country of the Sagalassenes, rich and abounding in all kinds of crops. Pisidians inhabit it, by far the best warriors in this

<sup>51</sup> E.g. Beloch (1886) Hansen (2006) 4-11; Hollingsworth (1969) 229-232; Willet (2012) 137-141.

region. This circumstance gave them courage, as well as the fertility of the soil and their large population and the situation of their fortified town in a land where such strongholds were few.<sup>52</sup>

Discussing the fertility of the soil and the large population of its territory, Hellenistic Sagalassos and environs seemed to be flourishing. The account of Justinian dating to c. AD 535-536, points in the same direction:

We have investigated the origin of the Pisidians, and have learned from ancient writers that this people formerly exercised dominion over a large portion of the earth, and now that this province needs a powerful and energetic magistracy (for it contains a great number of villages, and a large population who are especially seditious when it comes to the payment of taxes) (...) <sup>53</sup>

Although both authors, for two different time periods, mentioned the occurrence of many villages, fertile fields and large populations, these accounts are not specifying the population numbers. Therefore, other sources are needed, which will be found in the archaeological and geographical record.

### *City area*

Thanks to the urban surveys, geophysical prospection and archaeological excavations by the Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project<sup>54</sup>, it was possible to define the surface of the urban area of Sagalassos during its heyday in the middle Imperial period. This surface, circumscribed by the necropoleis, was set on 31.5 ha, of which 23.5 ha was considered to have served habitational purposes<sup>55</sup>. Adding the 6 ha surface of the Eastern Suburbium results in an urban area of 37.5 ha<sup>56</sup>. An often applied method consists of multiplying the residential area (23.5 ha) by a constant which is an assumption of the population density. A first constant is given by Josiah C. Russel, who stated that the population density of Roman “[m]edium-sized cities, well populated and prosperous” ranged between 100 and 150 inhabitants per ha<sup>57</sup>. Applying this to Sagalassos gives popula-

<sup>52</sup> Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 38.15, translated by Sage (1936).

<sup>53</sup> Justinian, *Novella* 24.1, translated by Scott (1932).

<sup>54</sup> Martens e.a. (2012).

<sup>55</sup> Martens e.a. (2008) 137; other numbers for the urban area are given too: more than 40 ha (Waelkens & Poblome (2011) 59); 37.5 to 40 ha (Willet & Poblome (2015) 135).

<sup>56</sup> Willet & Poblome (2015) 135.

<sup>57</sup> Russel (1958) 68.

tion numbers between 3,750 and 5,625<sup>58</sup>. Similar constants were given by Donald W. Engels and John D. Grainger for domestic areas. Engels proposed a population density between 100 and 160 inh/ha on Roman Corinth<sup>59</sup>, while Grainger used a rather high density estimate of 200 inh/ha for the Pamphylian coastal settlements in Roman times<sup>60</sup>. Multiplying these density estimates by the residential area ends up with a range between 2,350 and 3,760, and 4,700 inhabitants respectively. Far lower population densities between 40 and 60 inhabitants per ha were proposed by Simon Price for unplanned Classical and Hellenistic Greek city-states<sup>61</sup>, basing himself on Ottoman-era Greek *comparanda*<sup>62</sup>. Sagalassos, although a Roman provincial city in the second century AD, can be classified as unplanned in the sense that it does not follow a Hippodamian grid. Multiplied by the urban area, this gives a range of 1,500 to 2,250 citizens.

Both John Bintliff and later Mogens Herman Hansen used a constant percentage of the walled area that is reserved for habitational purposes in Greek poleis. Bintliff<sup>63</sup> proposed a percentage of 56 per cent of habitational space in which per hectare 225 individuals resided. Hansen<sup>64</sup>, on the other hand, suggested that for middle-sized poleis half of the urban area was reserved for domestic purposes, with *c.* 150 people per ha. Although the residential area represented *c.* 63 per cent of the urban area of Sagalassos, the methods of Bintliff and Hansen are nevertheless useful to apply. This results in a range between 2,813 and 4,725 inhabitants for Sagalassos. An important note on these constant population numbers is that these often remain mute on whether these are assuming single- or multi-storeyed houses<sup>65</sup>, while at Sagalassos most houses are expected to consist of only a ground floor<sup>66</sup>.

Another method was first proposed by Raoul Naroll<sup>67</sup>, seeking a relationship between house floor area and the amount of inhabitants for

<sup>58</sup> This method was already applied for Sagalassos by Martens e.a. (2008) 137.

<sup>59</sup> Engels (1990) 82.

<sup>60</sup> Grainger (2009) 234.

<sup>61</sup> Price (2011) 23.

<sup>62</sup> A critique posed by Josiah Ober, arguing that the Ottoman context was too distinct from a Hellenistic one to apply such figures (Ober (2015) 81, n. 16).

<sup>63</sup> Bintliff (1997) 235.

<sup>64</sup> Hansen (2006) 61.

<sup>65</sup> Hanson & Ortman (2017) 308.

<sup>66</sup> Only for the so-called urban mansion at Sagalassos is a second floor documented (Putzeys e.a. (2007) 212, 225-228).

<sup>67</sup> Naroll (1962) 587-589.

sedentary populations. His study, which was based on the anthropological records of 18 communities, resulted in the so-called “Naroll’s constant”<sup>68</sup> of one person per 10 m<sup>2</sup> of floor area. Later, Polly Wiessner<sup>69</sup> altered this method to make it applicable for calculating the population sizes of settlements. Both Naroll’s<sup>70</sup> and Wiessner’s<sup>71</sup> techniques were severely criticised for being too much of a generalisation, and it remains unclear how multi-storeyed houses would influence the formula. Yet, they offer the opportunity to use a method which is not based on an arbitrary estimate of the population density. Wiessner created the formula *residential area* =  $a \cdot \text{population size}^b$ , with  $a$  being a constant value close to 0 for which here a range between 0.1 and 0.25 is chosen, and  $b = \frac{2}{3}$  for urban societies<sup>72</sup>. For Sagalassos, the formula thus is: 23,5 ha =  $0.1 - 0.25 \cdot \text{population size}^{\frac{2}{3}}$ , resulting in a population between 911 and 3,602.

### *House count*

Many authors<sup>73</sup> discussed the use of house count in estimating population size. For Sagalassos, thanks to extensive geophysical surveying<sup>74</sup>, the layout of the city is fairly well known, especially for the eastern part of the city. Within this area, the well-surveyed neighbourhood southwest of the theatre was selected. The surface of this area measured 8.7 ha and counted 92 edifices which were interpreted as houses. Per hectare stood an average of 11 houses. When this is multiplied by the total residential area of 23.5 ha, a total of 249 houses can be assumed in Sagalassos. The small amount of houses and their large surfaces, however, indicate that this quarter was reserved for the urban upper classes, thus diminishing its representativeness. Whether middle and lower class people lived mainly in the southwestern residential quarters is difficult to say. Apart from the issue with representation, Robert M. Schacht<sup>75</sup> also pointed out the problem with turning house counts into population sizes with household sizes remaining unknown. Especially for the Sagalassos-case this problem is crucial: the

<sup>68</sup> Brown (1987).

<sup>69</sup> Wiessner (1974) 343-350.

<sup>70</sup> Hassan (1978) 55-58; Kolb e.a. (1985) 581.

<sup>71</sup> Kramer (1982) 163; Chamberlain (2006) 128.

<sup>72</sup> Wiessner (1974) 349.

<sup>73</sup> Zorn (1994) 32-33; Schacht (1981) 125-126; Kolb (1985) 582.

<sup>74</sup> Martens e.a. (2012); Martens (2004).

<sup>75</sup> Schacht (1981) 125



30 houses of which the surface was calculated range from 70 to more than 2,500 m<sup>2</sup>. The differences in floor area hinder the simple application of an average household size. As other neighbourhoods are not thoroughly prospected via geophysical survey, this paper needs to find a way to deal with the data of this more residential quarter. Such varying household sizes are referred to in literature. Hansen<sup>76</sup>, for example, mentions 3-7 members per household for the Classical and Hellenistic Poleis, while Beryl Rawson<sup>77</sup> states that in Imperial Rome, average households consisted of *c.* 2-3 children resulting in a household size of 4-5, and Roger Bagnall and Bruce Frier argued, based on tax records from Roman Egypt, that *c.* 4.04-5.31 people made up a lower class household in the cities<sup>78</sup>. For the larger dwellings in Sagalassos a housekeeping of slaves and freedmen is expected. One Roman comparison can be found with the site of Cosa, where 24 large and 244 small houses are found with a ratio of 1:10<sup>79</sup>. Luuk de Ligt estimated that 5-6 people lived in the former, while the latter housed 10-12<sup>80</sup>.

Rinse Willet and Jeroen Poblome<sup>81</sup> applied these numbers to the Sagalassos case, resulting in a population between 1,356 and 1,583 inhabitants. With the broad range of house sizes, it seems better to model household numbers. One way to do so is to assume that the household size grows at the same rate as the floor area. For this method, for the smallest house, the range of 3-7 inhabitants is chosen and then multiplied by  $\frac{house\ size_i}{house\ size_{i-1}}$ .

A second calculation is to plot the 3-7 household size for houses of *c.* 50 m<sup>2</sup>, the 10-12 for the 500 m<sup>2</sup> — matching the 1:10 ratio — and 20-30 for a 2,000 m<sup>2</sup> mansion. Thus the relationship between house and household size can be modelled through correlation curves. The first correlation is linear, resulting in the following formulae:  $household = 0.0082 \cdot size + 4.0288$  ( $R^2 = 0.9606$ ) for the lower ranges and  $household = 0.0118 \cdot size + 6.2638$  ( $R^2 = 0.9998$ ) for the upper ones. This formula assumes the rising number of slaves when living space increased. When a logarithmic correlation is sought — assuming that more living space was one of the pleasures of being rich — this results in the formulae  $household = 4.4496 \cdot \ln(size) - 15.293$  ( $R^2 = 0.9416$ ) for the lower ranges and

<sup>76</sup> Hansen (2006) 53-60.

<sup>77</sup> Rawson (1986) 8.

<sup>78</sup> Bagnall & Frier (1994) 68.

<sup>79</sup> Fentress & Bodel (2003) 25.

<sup>80</sup> de Ligt (2012) 220.

<sup>81</sup> Willet & Poblome (2015) 136.

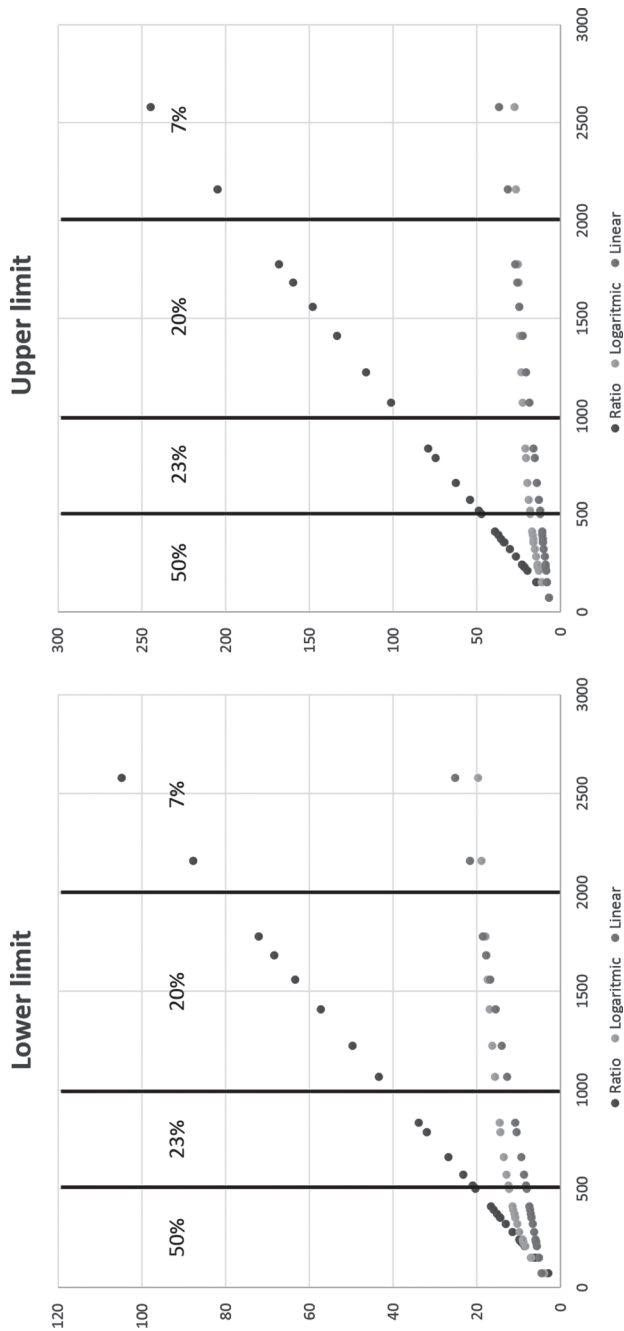


Fig. 3: Modelling of the house floor area to household sizes.

$household = 5.8234 \cdot \ln(size) - 18.078$  ( $R^2 = 0.8046$ ) for the upper ones. These curves now allow for the calculation of the household size for each of the 30 houses of which the surface areas were measured. Since it was not feasible to measure the floor area of all 249 houses, it seemed best to categorize the houses according to their surface area. This resulted in four categories: A)  $< 500 \text{ m}^2$ ; B)  $500\text{--}1,000 \text{ m}^2$ ; C)  $1,000\text{--}2,000 \text{ m}^2$ ; D)  $> 2,000 \text{ m}^2$ . For each of these categories, per modelling technique (constant ratio, linear and logarithmic; fig. 3) the average household size can be calculated, which is multiplied by the percentage of houses belonging to this category and by the total house count. By then making a sum of these calculations of each of the categories, a total population size can be established. For the first technique (constant ratio), this results in a range of 2,174–5,072 inhabitants, for the linear modelling 2,486–3,693 and for the logarithmic 3,080–4,512. As stated above, it can be questioned whether, by taking a probably elite neighbourhood as basis, the amount of people residing in Sagalassos is not underestimated. Similarly, the problem emerges that the amount of high class residents is overestimated.

### *Necropoleis*

Although cemetery data are considered by Thomas H. Hollingworth as the “most unreliable sources for making any demographic estimate”<sup>82</sup>, using them in a thoughtful manner can produce valuable results. In most cases, when archaeological demography makes use of skeletal evidence, the application of palaeodemography is meant, focussing on mortality and fertility patterns, age and sex distribution<sup>83</sup>, not the reconstruction of population sizes. In this case, the burial density will be used to estimate the amount of individuals buried at Sagalassos. This method has already been applied by William W. Howells in 1960 on the native American settlement Pecos<sup>84</sup>, albeit on a more completely excavated burial site. The starting point is the premise that all individuals that once lived — and thus died — in Sagalassos were also buried there. So far 77 burials — inhumations and cremations — dating between Hellenistic and Late Roman times were unearthed at Sagalassos, all in the eastern necropolis. The ratio of the amount of skeletons per site and the excavated area<sup>85</sup>,

<sup>82</sup> Hollingsworth (1969) 43.

<sup>83</sup> Chamberlain (2006) 81–126; Seguy & Buchet (2013); Bocquet-Appel (2008).

<sup>84</sup> Howells (1960) 158–176.

<sup>85</sup> These sites are Site F, Site D, Site PQ1 and Site PQ4.

resulted in an overall burial density of 0.13 skeletons/m<sup>2</sup>. However, there are indications for tombs which were looted or found empty and for which the removal of skeletal remains is assumed. These are counted in as the maximum amount of individuals per area, resulting in a burial density of 0.15 skeletons/m<sup>2</sup>. The total area of the Sagalassos' necropoleis was measured to be 620,000 m<sup>2</sup><sup>86</sup>. The total of buried individuals can be calculated as the *burial density* · *necropolis area*, resulting in a range from 80,600 to 93,000 burials. However, to calculate how many people were living at the same time in the second century AD, this number has to be divided by the total timespan the necropoleis were in use (c. 700 years) and then multiplied by the average life expectancy for this time period. For the early and middle Roman imperial period, an average life expectancy was used of c. 23.6 years, matching the estimates from elsewhere in the Roman empire<sup>87</sup>. This calculation ( $population = \frac{necropolis\ area \cdot average\ life\ expectancy}{use\ life\ necropoleis}$ ) results in a range between 2,722 and 3,135 individuals.

### *Carrying capacity*

Sagalassos can be found within a one to three-hour walking distance north of two fertile valleys which are named after the modern villages that lie there: Ağlasun and Yeşilbaşköy. If these valleys are considered as the primary catchment area for the city of Sagalassos<sup>88</sup>, its valley bottom surface of c. 29 km<sup>2</sup> serves as the basis for the carrying capacity calculations. A first technique for calculating the carrying capacity of a region is based on the yield of wheat and barley. This technique has a long history as it was already applied by Karl Julius Beloch<sup>89</sup> and Adolf Holm<sup>90</sup>. Beloch lists the surface as well as wheat and barley yields for specific regions known for producing these crops in Hellenistic Greece. Later, he discusses the number of *medimnoi* grain equivalent which were needed to sustain an average individual on a yearly basis, i.e. six

<sup>86</sup> Köse (2005) 17-23 counted a total area of 33.2 ha. How he exactly calculated this surface is not specified in his study. Here the surface is based on the distribution of the Roman imperial funerary contexts.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. Bagnall & Frier (1994) 109.

<sup>88</sup> Willet & Poblome (2015) 137; Eva Kaptijn, personal communication.

<sup>89</sup> Beloch (1886) 29-33.

<sup>90</sup> Holm (1965 [1886-1901]) 173-175.

*medimnoi*<sup>91</sup>. Yet, if one applies his figures and thus divides the yield per area by the volume of grain needed per person, the resulting population that can be sustained by the Ağlasun and Yeşilbaşköy valleys is too low to feed the population of Sagalassos: only 1,148 people. Beloch based his research on the total area of the territories of these ancient *poleis*<sup>92</sup>, while for Sagalassos only the fertile valley bottoms are selected as catchment area. Given that only 20-50 per cent of the Attica was suitable for crop cultivation<sup>93</sup>, the carrying capacity for Sagalassos can easily be multiplied by a factor 2 to 5. This means that a population of 2,269 to 5,672 people can be fed. More recently Donald Engels<sup>94</sup> came up with a more complex formula, which takes the energy intake needed on a yearly basis, the calorific value per kilogram of wheat and barley, the percentage of arable land and the average yield per km<sup>2</sup> into account<sup>95</sup>. This formula implied that a total of 2,119 to 4,238 individuals can be sustained:

$$\frac{\text{Area} \cdot \text{Yield} / \text{Area} \cdot \text{year} \cdot \% \text{ Arable land} \cdot \text{Mass} / \text{Yield} \cdot \text{Calories} / \text{Mass}}{\text{Calories} / \text{Person} \cdot 365 \text{ days}} = \frac{29 \text{ km}^2 \cdot \frac{1200 \text{ hl}}{\text{km}^2} \cdot 50\% \cdot 61.8 \text{ kg/hl} \cdot 2,185 \text{ kcal/kg}}{1,500 - \frac{3,000 \text{ kcal}}{p} \cdot 365 \text{ days}}$$

$$= 2,119 - 4,238 \text{ individuals}$$

For the nearby territory of Balboursa (c. 110km southwest of Sagalassos) in southern Lykia the carrying capacity was established according to a similar calculation method<sup>96</sup>. Here, the possible wheat yield is compared to the estimated need of cereal intake per person. Although a far too simplistic diet is assumed, the used formula takes into account the amount of grains reserved as fodder, sowing seed and taxation goods. It was concluded that a population of c. 10,000 to 20,000 people could be sustained from the yield of the fertile valley bottoms in the territory, measuring 10,040 ha. This corresponds with 1 to 2 individuals that could live

<sup>91</sup> Beloch (1886) 32-33.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 31-32.

<sup>93</sup> Garnsey (1988) 91.

<sup>94</sup> Engels (1990) 27-28.

<sup>95</sup> The mean of 3,000 kcal is based on the average energy intake for adults following the FAO-formulae for caloric needs, assuming a mean stature of 1.66m for men and 1.56 for women, a normal Body Mass Index (BMI) and a Physical Activity Level (PAL) reflecting non-mechanic work in a pre-industrial society (FAO (2001)). The other numbers are based on Engels (1990) n. 30.

<sup>96</sup> Wagstaff & Erdentuğ (2012) 36-41.

from one hectare of arable fields. When this number is applied on the 29 km<sup>2</sup> valley bottom of the Ağlasun-Başköy system, a carrying capacity of 2,900 to 5,800 people is obtained.

Most formulae, however, are based on the area which is needed to sustain a household of 5 individuals. Franco De Angelis<sup>97</sup> argued that in previous attempts to calculate the number of people that can be sustained by a specific catchment area, only cereal yields were taken into account — as in the previous paragraph — while a broader spectrum of foods needs to be incorporated too. Therefore, he looked into ancient and modern crop yields, dietary practices and family labour data from Italy and Greece to come up with a surface of 3-4 ha to sustain a group of 5 people. Applying this number results in an estimate of the population that can be sustained for Sagalassos: 3,625 to 4,833 people. John Bintliff<sup>98</sup> was more specific in the surface needed to support a group of 5, stating that 3.6 ha were necessary in Iron Age Greece. This comes down to 4,028 individuals which could have been sustained.

#### IV. POPULATION IN THE TERRITORY

From the reign of Augustus onwards, the city of Sagalassos administered over a c. 1,200 km<sup>2</sup> territory<sup>99</sup>. The borders of this area were inferred from boundary markers and topographical observations<sup>100</sup>.

##### *Territorial area*

The most common formula for calculating the population within a territory is — just as for the urban area — to multiply the surface by an assumption of the population density. Walter Scheidel and Bruce Frier<sup>101</sup> estimated that the population density for Anatolia during the Roman Imperial period was 14-15 individuals per km<sup>2</sup>, which results in a population of between 16,800 and 18,000 for the Sagalassos territory. These numbers are rather low, because they are based on the general estimate

<sup>97</sup> De Angelis (2000) 118.

<sup>98</sup> Bintliff (2002) 158.

<sup>99</sup> Waelkens & Poblome (2011) 11; an area of 1,800 km<sup>2</sup> was mentioned in Waelkens e.a. (2003) 62.

<sup>100</sup> For a full description of the evidence see: Waelkens (1995) 11-12; Waelkens (1997) 97-99; Waelkens e.a. (2003) 60-62.

<sup>101</sup> Scheidel (2007) 48; Frier (2000) 812.

for population density in Roman Anatolia. For the territory of Sagalassos, however, a denser population is expected<sup>102</sup>. When this number is compared to the present density of *c.* 78.1 people per km<sup>2</sup> in the region<sup>103</sup>, resulting in a population of 93,720 for the territory of Sagalassos, the contrast is quite distinct. Similarly, for Classical Athens Peter Garnsey<sup>104</sup> proposed a density of 50-104 persons per km<sup>2</sup>, which comes down to a total population of 60,000-124,800. Two other estimates are proposed by John Bintliff and Anthony Snodgrass<sup>105</sup> for the region of Boeotia in Classical times. In a first formula, they propose a population density between 38 and 70 individuals per km<sup>2</sup>, resulting in a total population for the territory of between 45,600 and 84,000 inhabitants.

The second formula is more elaborate. Here, only the part of the territory suitable for agriculture is taken into consideration. As was already acknowledged, ancient authors referred to Pisidia and the Sagalassos territory as a very fertile region. Hartwin Brandt<sup>106</sup> argued that in the Pisidian Lake District, 70 per cent of the valley bottoms were suitable for agriculture. However, Sagalassos is located in the foothills of the Taurus mountain range, a rather mountainous region where valley bottoms are less frequent. Hannelore Vanhaverbeke<sup>107</sup> published the areas of some of the valley bottoms within the territory, which in total cover an area of *c.* 450 km<sup>2</sup> of the total territory of 1,200 km<sup>2</sup> (*c.* 40 per cent). If the 70 per cent of arable area of the valley bottoms is accepted, *c.* 25 per cent of the total territory (*c.* 315 km<sup>2</sup>) was suitable for agriculture. A safety factor of 10 per cent is built in, resulting in a range between *c.* 20 and 35 per cent arable space. John Bintliff and Anthony Snodgrass<sup>108</sup> proposed for Classical Boeotia that within the arable areas the population density was 95/km<sup>2</sup>. When applying this on the Sagalassos territory, a population of 22,158-38,118 individuals is obtained.

<sup>102</sup> Justinian, *Novella* 24.1; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 38.15.

<sup>103</sup> <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tgs00024&plugin=1> (last issued 03 May 2016); the number of 2014 for the region 'Antalya, Isparta, Burdur' is used. Note that the densely populated city of Antalya is located within the selected region.

<sup>104</sup> Garnsey (1988) 89-91.

<sup>105</sup> Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 143.

<sup>106</sup> Brandt (1992) 10.

<sup>107</sup> Vanhaverbeke & Waelkens (2003); for the surface of the Ağlasun-Başköy valley system, Willet & Poblome (2015) 137.

<sup>108</sup> Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 143.

*Site count*

During the extensive survey campaigns under the guidance of Marc Waelkens and Hannelore Vanhaverbeke, 68 sites dating to Roman imperial times were documented in the territory, of which 41 are characterized as villages and 27 as farms or hamlets<sup>109</sup>. Richard W.V. Catling<sup>110</sup> applied this technique to the Laconia region. He started by attributing an average of 5 people to farmsteads, considering a household, while in villages each household needed a space of 0.05 ha. A city, on the other hand, is supposed to have a population density of 150 to 300 people per hectare, which is rather high compared to previously proposed numbers. When applying these numbers to the Sagalassos territory, supposing that the surface of villages is somewhere between 1 and 5 ha, one obtains a range between 7,760 and 27,685 inhabitants. Based on this technique and the different applications cited in Robin Osborne's work<sup>111</sup>, other numbers can be used too. Starting with the same 41 villages and 27 farms or hamlets, but assuming a similar population density in a village and a city of 100-160, and a range of 5-10 housing in a farm, the formula results in a population range of 6,585 to 36,830 inhabitants.

*aDNA*

Up till now, 40 skeletal samples from Sagalassos were successfully analysed for mtDNA. These data were analysed by Claudio Ottoni and colleagues<sup>112</sup> to simulate possible events of population contraction in the Sagalassos territory, based on the changes in genetic variation. Ottoni and colleagues tested four different models: in the first, no reduction in population size occurred; the second assumed a decrease associated with the Justinian plague (AD 541-543); the third model associated decline with the seventh-century earthquake<sup>113</sup>; the last selected event was the attested early 13th-century abandonment of the site<sup>114</sup>. Only the last event seemed to have had a major influence on the population size, probably even halving the number of people residing in the former territory. The population size for any demographic contraction was determined by the posterior

<sup>109</sup> Vanhaverbeke & Waelkens (2003) 241-246.

<sup>110</sup> Catling (2002) 206.

<sup>111</sup> Osborne (2004) 163-172.

<sup>112</sup> Ottoni e.a. (2016).

<sup>113</sup> Waelkens e.a. (2000); Sintubin e.a. (2003).

<sup>114</sup> Poblome e.a. (2017).



median values for female effective population size ( $N_s$ ). Ottoni e.a. concluded that before the first decline in population, between c. 26,000 and 32,000 had lived in the territory. Although “[t]hese results should be treated with caution, due (...) to the limited power of demographic reconstructions based on a single genetic locus”<sup>115</sup>, an ancient-DNA perspective is a valuable supplementation of the demographic data.

### *Carrying capacity*

The total area of the Sagalassos territory consisted, as mentioned before, of c. 1,200 km<sup>2</sup>. This area can also be considered as the total catchment area of all settlements within the territory and thus serves as the basis for the calculations on the carrying capacity. In fact, all methods used for calculating the carrying capacity of the city of Sagalassos can be used for its territory too. When Beloch’s<sup>116</sup> method is applied on the Sagalassos-territory, this results in 46,944 people that can be sustained. Engels’ method<sup>117</sup>, on the other hand, provides a population of 17,538 to 52,615 inhabitants which can be fed from the territory. In analogy with the Balbura-territory, the territory of Sagalassos would be able to support a population of 24,000-84,000 souls<sup>118</sup>. As seen above, these techniques are more recently replaced by formulae focussing on a diet more varied than one consisting of only grains. When applying the formula of De Angelis, a range between 29,155 and 66,873 people is obtained, while Bintliff’s technique gives a number of 32,394-55,728 inhabitants. Gert Verstraeten and Maarten Van Loo, whose research considers erosional processes, soil fertility and grain yields, estimated for the territory of Sagalassos that around 40,000 souls could be sustained<sup>119</sup>.

## V. RESULTS

A number of techniques have now been applied, but the individual results are not necessarily meaningful due to their quite distinct outcomes (fig. 4; table 1). As Hansen proposed in his shotgun method, a combination of these results is needed to reach a valuable outcome. Although he

<sup>115</sup> Ottoni e.a. (2016); Ottoni, personal communication.

<sup>116</sup> Beloch (1886) 29-33.

<sup>117</sup> Engels (1990) 27-28.

<sup>118</sup> Wagstaff & Erdentuğ (2012) 36-41.

<sup>119</sup> Verstraeten & Van Loo, personal communication.

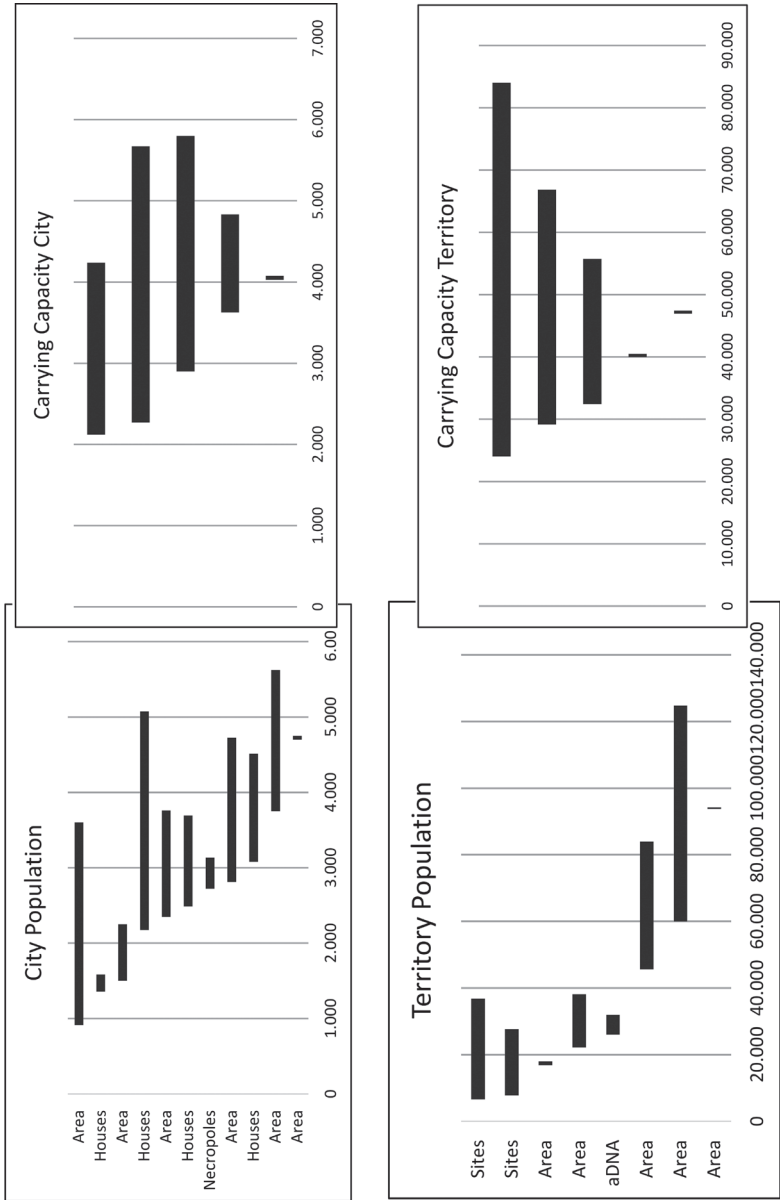


Fig. 4: The ranges of the applied estimation methods.

Table 1 – Summary of the ranges obtained for population and carrying capacity estimates

Scale	Base	Formula	Lower range	Upper range	Reference
City	Area	Residential area $\times$ population density	3.750	5.625	Russel (1958) 68
City	Area	Urban area $\times$ percentage of residential area $\times$ population density	2.813	4.725	Bintliff (1997) 235; Hansen (2006) 61
City	Area	Urban area $\times$ population density for an unplanned city	1.500	2.250	Price (2011) 23
City	Area	Residential area $\times$ population density	2.350	3.760	Engels (1990) 82
City	Area	Residential area $\times$ population density	4.700	4.700	Grainger (2009) 234
City	Area	Area = $a \times \text{population}^b$	911	3.602	Wiessner (1974) 343-350
City	Houses	(Housing units/area) $\times$ residential area $\times$ sum (perc. Housetype $\times$ household size(analogy))	1.356	1.583	Willet & Poblome (2015) 136
City	Houses	(Housing units/area) $\times$ residential area $\times$ sum (perc. Housetype $\times$ household size(ratio))	2.174	5.072	
City	Houses	(Housing units/area) $\times$ residential area $\times$ sum (perc. Housetype $\times$ household size(linear))	2.486	3.693	
City	Houses	(Housing units/area) $\times$ residential area $\times$ sum (perc. Housetype $\times$ household size(logaritmie))	3.080	4.512	
City	Necropoleis	(((Excavated skeletons/excavated area) $\times$ surface necropoleis)/time span) $\times$ life expectancy	2.722	3.135	

Scale	Base	Formula	Lower range	Upper range	Reference
City	Carrying Capacity	$(\text{Area} \times (\text{yield/area}) \times \text{household size}) / \text{personal need}$	2.269	5.672	Beloch (1886) 29-33
City	Carrying Capacity	$\text{People/ha} \times \text{Area}$	3.625	4.833	De Angelis (2000) 125
City	Carrying Capacity	$\text{People/ha} \times \text{Area}$	4.028	4.028	Bintliff (2002) 158
City	Carrying Capacity	$(\text{Area} \times (\text{yield}/(\text{area} \times \text{year})) \times \text{perc. arable land} \times \text{mass/vol} \times \text{calories/mass}) / (\text{calories/person} \times 365 \text{ days})$	2.119	4.238	Engels (1990) 27-28
City	Carrying Capacity	$\text{People/ha} \times \text{Area}$	2.900	5.800	Wagstaff & Erdentug (2012) 36-41
Territory	Area	$\text{Area} \times \text{population density}$	16.800	18.000	Frier (2000) 812; Scheidel (2007) 48
Territory	Area	$\text{Area} \times \text{population density}$	93.720	93.720	Analogy with the current population density in the area
Territory	Area	$\text{Area} \times \text{population density}$	45.600	84.000	Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 143
Territory	Area	$\text{Area} \times \text{population density}$	60.000	124.800	Gamsey (1998) 89-91
Territory	Area	$\text{Area} \times \text{population density} \times \text{perc. arable area}$	22.158	38.118	Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 143
Territory	Sites	$\text{Sum}(\text{amount of sites per type} \times \text{perc. sites per type} \times \text{population density per type})$	6.585	36.830	Osborne (2004) 163-172

Scale	Base	Formula	Lower range	Upper range	Reference
Territory	Sites	Sum(amount of sites per type $\times$ perc. sites per type $\times$ population density per type)	7.760	27.685	Catling (2002)
Territory	aDNA		26.000	32.000	Otoni e.a. (2017)
Territory	Carrying Capacity		40.000	40.000	Maarten Van Loo & Gert Verstraeten
Territory	Carrying Capacity	(Area $\times$ (yield/area) $\times$ household size)/personal need	46.944	46.944	Beloch (1886) 29-33
Territory	Carrying Capacity	People/ha $\times$ Area $\times$ arable area	29.155	66.873	De Angelis (2000) 125
Territory	Carrying Capacity	People/ha $\times$ Area $\times$ arable area	32.394	55.728	Bintliff (2002) 158
Territory	Carrying Capacity	(Area $\times$ (yield/(area $\times$ year)) $\times$ perc. arable land $\times$ mass/vol $\times$ calories/mass)/(calories/person $\times$ 365 days)	17.538	52.615	Engels (1990) 27-28
Territory	Carrying Capacity	People/ha $\times$ Area $\times$ arable area	24.000	84.000	Wagstaff & Erdentug (2012) 36-41

claims that “(...) we must remember that we cannot expect precision. We have to use the shotgun method with its considerable gap between maximum and minimum”<sup>120</sup>, this paper advocates that the obtained results can end up in more precise population estimates. Indeed, applying the shotgun method often ends up in very broad population ranges<sup>121</sup>.

### *Ranges of the urban and territorial populations*

If this total range is applied to Sagalassos with the previously mentioned populations estimates as its basis, a total of 911-5,625 individuals formed the urban population and 6,585-124,800 the territorial one. These ranges, however, are so broad that they become impossible to work with. Even if from these the rural population is extracted (territorial population minus the city population), this would result in numbers between 960 and 123,889 people. Any study relating to population estimates — from the pressure on the landscape to the relation between city and territory or even in urban *versus* rural economy — becomes impossible to execute with such broad ranges as basis.

By applying the five different above mentioned techniques, this paper hopes to limit these broad ranges. A first possibility to limit the total range is by taking the carrying capacity into account. This factor does not — as was discussed above — give any estimates for population numbers, but sets an upper limit for the population that can be sustained. Since for the city population the largest overlap in the ranges for the carrying capacity lies between 3,625 and 4,238 individuals, the upper limit for the population of Sagalassos lies somewhere within this range, instead of at 5,625. The same is true for the territory, where most of the carrying capacity estimates give results somewhere between 32,394 and 52,615 individuals, with the highest probability around 44,000. Between 38,118 and 45,600 lies a gap in the territorial population estimates. Since this hiatus falls within the peak of the carrying capacity, the population estimates over 45,600 souls can be excluded.

A following method consists of taking the overlap of most population estimates into account. Most methods for calculating the urban population

<sup>120</sup> Hansen (2006) 73.

<sup>121</sup> E.g. City of Sagalassos 1,500-5,000 and Sagalassos territory 6,000-25,000 (Willet & Poblome (2015) 137 and 139); City of Corinth 30,000-50,000 and Corinthian territory 40,000-60,000 (Willet (2012) 151); City of Balbura 850-1,400 (Coulton (2012) 76); Greek world 7.5-10 million (Hansen (2006) 32).

range between 2,813 and 3,525 individuals (fig. 5), which is just below the average carrying capacity of 3,625-4,238. The Ağlasun-Yeşilbaşköy valley bottoms was taken as the catchment area of Sagalassos, but given the fact that the rural population residing in this valley needs to be sustained from this same area, the population numbers for Sagalassos will tend to point to the lower limit of this range. In case of the Sagalassos territory, the highest overlap of methods can be found for a population between 22,158 and 32,000 individuals (fig. 6). Additionally, the range falls just below the carrying capacity of 32,394-52,615.

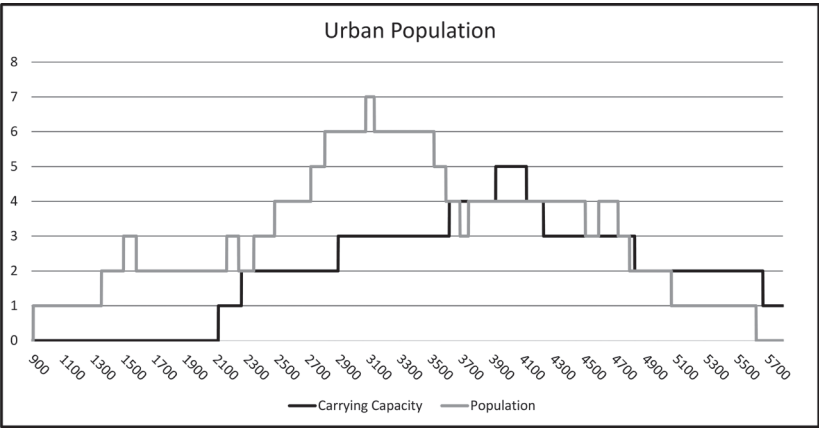


Fig. 5: The distribution of urban population estimates.

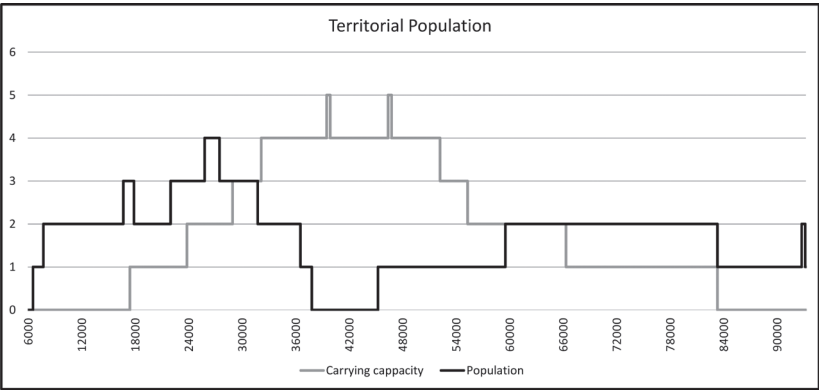


Fig. 6: The distribution of territorial population estimates.

In the previous methods, the upper and lower limits of the ranges are still directly adopted from the outcomes of the estimates discussed above. The complete data distribution is not taken into account. To this end, statistical methods such as the use of quartiles and Gaussian statistics can be applied. A first way of visualizing the ranges is by drawing box plots for the population and carrying capacity, which allows for a comparison between the two. When the urban population data are examined, the mean value of all estimates is 3,320, while the first quartile is set on 2,660 and the third on 4,110. This means that the highest probability ranges between the two quartiles (2,660-4,110). However, when the carrying capacity is considered, the mean is calculated as 3,944, and the range between the first and the third quartile is 3,248-4,615. By limiting the population numbers from the mean of the carrying capacity onwards are considered unsustainable, the urban population of Sagalassos ranges between 2,660 and 3,944 individuals (fig. 7). When it comes to the territorial population, the estimates higher than 45,600 individuals are not taken into account for reasons discussed above. Here the mean of the population estimates is 22,986, and the quartiles range between 16,339 and 29,539. As the mean of the carrying capacity is set on 46,800, the territorial population consisted of 16,339-29,539 individuals (fig. 8). In this way they seemed to remain safely within the carrying capacity of the region. Unsurprisingly, the urban population thus experienced a larger population pressure with a population reaching closer to the carrying capacity of its primary catchment area.

A last method starts with the assumption that the population estimates are normally distributed, or at least closely resemble this patterning. With close resemblance, a “batch that is single peaked and symmetrical”<sup>122</sup> is meant. However, when the normal distribution of each of the population or carrying capacity estimates is tested, none are really normally distributed<sup>123</sup>. Nevertheless, since all consist of a single peak and are more or less symmetrical, their mean and standard deviation can be applied in the calculations as if dealing with a normal distribution. In order to calculate the highest probability for the population estimates, a  $1\sigma$ -probability is chosen. For the urban population, the range given by  $\mu = 3,320$  and  $\sigma = 1,038$  for a 68 per cent chance is 2,283-4,358 people. However, as

<sup>122</sup> Drennan (2010) 59.

<sup>123</sup> Tested with a Kolmogorov Smirnov test and visually surveyed with a Q-Q plot using R©.



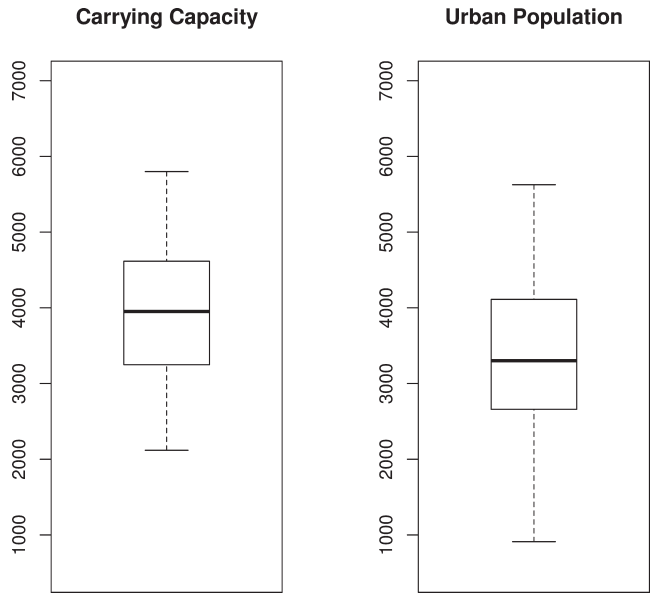


Fig. 7: Boxplots of the urban population estimates.

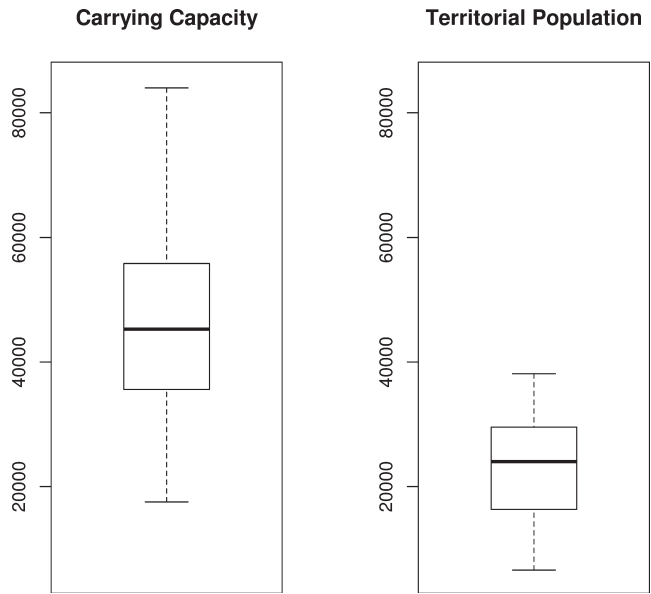


Fig. 8: Boxplots of the territorial population estimates.

seen before, the upper range falls within the range of the carrying capacity and therefore needs to be limited. The choice was to limit the population estimates where the probability of the carrying capacity overgrows that of the population, or in other words on the intercept of the two curves. This intercept can be found on 3,458 and thus the population for urban Sagalassos can be considered as between 2,283 and 3,458 individuals (fig. 9). For the territorial population the same logic can be followed, resulting in a range of 14,733-31,238 people (fig. 10), which is not limited by the carrying capacity since the intercept lies beyond the  $\mu + 1\sigma$  on 34,222 individuals.

#### *Comparison of the urban and the rural population*

After the above discussed methods for data analysis have been applied, they can be compared to each other. So far, we are still dealing with five population ranges for both the urban and the territorial population.

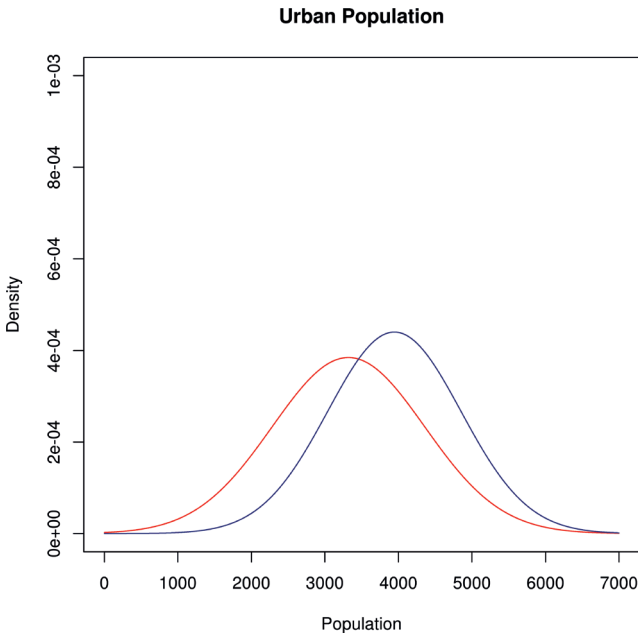


Fig. 9: Normal distribution of the urban population (red) and carrying capacity (blue) estimates.

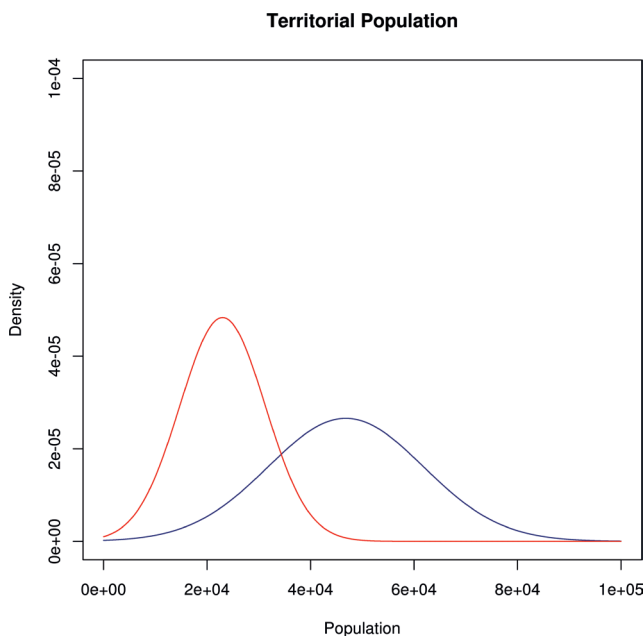


Fig. 10: Normal distribution of the territorial population (red) and carrying capacity (blue) estimates.

Therefore, it is best to weigh the value of each of the methods. The first two always result in a broad range, as they are not or barely limited. The following three methods are limited both in their upper as well as in their lower limit, which narrows the total range down. For example, the average range of the last three methods for the urban population is only 25 per cent of the total range (method 1). It thus seems more efficient to make use of the last three methods than of the former two. When the mean of the latter three methods is calculated, the urban population of Sagalassos ranges between 2,585 and 3,642 inhabitants, while the territorial population lies between 17,743 and 30,926 people. The rural population, or all people who are residing in the territory of Sagalassos, but not in the city itself, can thus be calculated as the territorial population minus the urban population, resulting in a range between 15,158 and 27,283 individuals.

An interesting aspect of these numbers is the relation of the urban to the rural population. This relation informs us on processes such as food

production and distribution, governance and regionalism. In literature, some attempts are made to come up with a fixed ratio between the urban and rural population. Within a Greek polis context, John Bintliff<sup>124</sup> estimated that urban:rural was in the ratio of 4:1, while for the same geopolitical situation, Mogens Herman Hansen<sup>125</sup> proposed a 2:1 ratio. Second-century AD Sagalassos, however, was not a Greek polis, but a Roman provincial city. For the Roman world, Peter de Graaf<sup>126</sup> proposed an alternative model where urban population percentages are between 10 and 25 per cent (1:9 to 1:3) of the total population, stressing the demographic importance of the countryside. A similar ratio was proposed by Stephen Mitchell<sup>127</sup>, who came up with a ratio of 1:10-1:8 for (central) Anatolia. Frank Kolb and Andreas Thomsen<sup>128</sup> mention a ratio of 1:5.2 for the southern Lykian town of Kyaneai and its territory. Similarly, the estimates of the rural and urban population of Balboura is in the ratio of 1:14-1:12<sup>129</sup>. For the estimates discussed in this paper the ratio of urban:rural is 1:7.5 to 1:5.9, meaning that only *c.* 11 to 15 per cent of the population lived in the city of Sagalassos while the rural population was much larger. The ratio proposed by Peter de Graaf thus seems to correspond best with the Sagalassos case. Yet, the comparison with the Lykian towns of Balboura and Kyaneai indicates that the relation between town and hinterland can differ extensively from case to case.

The shotgun method 2.0 can be regarded as a heuristic tool, which makes it possible to calculate population numbers. The ultimate goal, however, is to interpret these numbers within the appropriate historical context. One interesting inference can be found by comparing these numbers to the carrying capacity. During the second century AD, the calculations above proved that the carrying capacity of the territory was still far removed from the population estimates, in contrast to the city, where the urban population was just less than its carrying capacity. The population pressure was thus more tangible in the city than in the country. In the calculations for the carrying capacity of the urban population, it was assumed that the Ağlasun-Yeşilbaşköy valley system served as its primary catchment area. The role of the immediate surroundings of

<sup>124</sup> Bintliff (1997) 235.

<sup>125</sup> Hansen (2006) 23-24.

<sup>126</sup> De Graaf (2012) 91-92.

<sup>127</sup> Mitchell (1993) 244.

<sup>128</sup> Kolb & Thomsen (2004) 40-41.

<sup>129</sup> Coulton (2012) 76; Wagstaff & Erdentuğ (2012) 40.

Sagalassos for food production — even for herding — in the second century was already attested in the high pollution in sheep and goat bones from this period, indicating that these animals lived close to the settlement itself<sup>130</sup>. Yet, the population pressure must have been even greater as the inhabitants of the valley itself were not taken into account. Therefore, it can be assumed that not only the Ağlasun and Yeşilbaşköy valleys served as the catchment area, but that the rest of the territory assisted in sustaining the urban population too, albeit to a lesser extent than the immediate valleys.

### *Problems and pitfalls*

In this paper, the shotgun method 2.0 has been represented as a more precise way to deal with demographic data than by simply taking the total range of all applied estimates. This resulted in an urban population estimate for Sagalassos between c. 2,600 and 3,650 inhabitants and between c. 17,700 and 31,000 individuals residing in the total territory (including the city of Sagalassos itself). Indeed, the method tested in this paper provided plausible and interpretable results, but this does not mean that the work is finished. During the calculations and literature study some generic problems arose:

- GIGO: To archaeological GIS, the adage GIGO (originating from the computer sciences) — Garbage In, Garbage Out — is often applicable<sup>131</sup>. This term refers to the idea that the basic data used in whatever tool, be it statistics, GIS or computing, need to be of sufficient quality to ensure that the outcome is feasible, independent of the quality of the method. Minor changes in the input data, such as the choice for another surface for the residential area, already have a major influence on the outcome.
- Guesstimation: The term ‘guesstimate’ is often used in articles concerning ancient demography<sup>132</sup>, indicating that the given number is as much based on gut feeling as it is on scientific data. Yet, some authors argue that guesstimates can be very useful if applied to problems for which an exact number is not a necessary outcome<sup>133</sup>, such as population numbers. If their use in population estimates in archaeology is

<sup>130</sup> Degryse e.a. (2004) 2819-2834.

<sup>131</sup> Conolly & Lake (2006) 11.

<sup>132</sup> E.g. Hassan (1978) 68.

<sup>133</sup> Weinstein & Adam (2008).

scrutinized, the guesstimates, however, tend to differ to such extent that their usefulness lapses. One example is in the application of the method where the urban population is calculated by multiplying the area by the ‘guesstimate’ of the population density: Russel<sup>134</sup> proposes a population density of 100 to 150 individuals, while Grainger<sup>135</sup> suggests 200 people. These numbers, although both valuable guesstimates, are so different that the choice for the one or the other would double the population outcome.

- The omnipresent unknown: Of the two just-mentioned problems, the first can be settled by evaluating all input-data. The second problem, on the other hand, is less easily tackled. Within each of the calculations for estimating the urban and territorial population of Sagalassos, always at least one unknown — and thus guesstimated — value is present: be it the population density, household size, average age at death, soil surface needed for sustaining a household, or the number of people living in a hamlet. Because an unknown value is always present, a guesstimate is necessary to overcome this problem, with all problematic side effects mentioned.
- Methods from other case studies: Most of the here-used techniques are originally proposed by scholars working in other spatial and/or temporal contexts: the Greek polis, Boeotia, the Pamphylian coastal cities, Laconia, or even native American sites. Not all of these methods can be transferred to other contexts. One example which was already discussed was the ratio between urban and rural population proposed by Hansen<sup>136</sup> and Bintliff<sup>137</sup> for the Greek polis, which were totally different than those for Roman Imperial Sagalassos. Therefore, in the best possible scenario, the methods applied should either be neutral of any context, or specific for the studied site.

The different methods discussed above and applied to the Sagalassos-case do not approximate the final number equally well. In particular, three of the methods for calculating the territorial population were so high that they surpassed the carrying capacity<sup>138</sup>. Other techniques

<sup>134</sup> Russell (1958) 68.

<sup>135</sup> Grainger (2009) 234.

<sup>136</sup> Hansen (2006) 23-24.

<sup>137</sup> Bintliff (1997) 235.

<sup>138</sup> These methods are the one using the population density of present-day southwest Anatolia, the one for Attica (Garnsey (1988) 89-91) and the first method of Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 143.

approximate the final population ranges much better. By comparing the deviation of the lower and upper limit of the population range resulting from each of the methods with the final ranges for the urban and territorial population, the most accurate methods can be indicated. For the urban population, the method using house counts by which the household size was modelled linearly deviated less from the final range of 2.585 to 3.642 inhabitants. The method using a population density between 100 and 160 people per ha<sup>139</sup> was second best. The most differing results are Grainger's proposition of a population density of 200 inhabitants<sup>140</sup> and the method on house counts by Willet and Poblome<sup>141</sup>. For the territorial population, the methods that are based on multiplying the area by an estimate of the population density in general obtains the results that are farthest removed. A single exception is the method by Bintliff and Snodgrass<sup>142</sup> which takes the arable area into account. The method which deviated least was the one based on the aDNA by Claudio Ottoni<sup>143</sup>. Consequently, the methods which are independent from a specific context (e.g. aDNA) or which are to a lesser extent based on guesstimates (e.g. necropolis and housing units), often score better.

During the last 150 years, archaeologists and historians aimed at estimating the population sizes of cities and regions in the past because of the important consequences the number of people has on both the environment and society itself<sup>144</sup>. Most techniques, however, were criticised and never seemed to come close to a clear population estimate. This resulted in a limited interest in demographic studies over the past two decades. Instead of creating yet another formula, suffering the same problems, this paper aimed – in the spirit of Hansen's 'shotgun method' – at exploring and combining the existing techniques to come to a population range of highest probability. For the case study of second-century AD Sagalassos this resulted in an estimated urban population of 2,600-3,650 and a territorial one of 17,700-31,000 individuals.

<sup>139</sup> Engels (1990) 82.

<sup>140</sup> Grainger (2009) 234.

<sup>141</sup> Willet & Poblome (2015) 136.

<sup>142</sup> Bintliff & Snodgrass (1985) 143.

<sup>143</sup> Ottoni e.a. (2016); Ottoni, personal communication.

<sup>144</sup> E.g. Malthus (1798); Boserup (1981); for a survey of the importance of population estimates, see Hassan (1978) 69-87; Chamberlain (2006) 4-10.

## VI. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# CASTRATION UNDER ROMAN LAW

## A STUDY OF THE CODIFICATIONS DURING THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN I (527-565)

*Abstract:* The Roman emperors employed court eunuchs. To understand the Roman legislators' views on eunuchs and castration, this article analyzes legislation of the first through sixth centuries collected in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. Topics taken up include the terms 'castrated' or 'impotent' men as they appear in the legal sources; how castrated slaves were dealt with; the ban on castration; and the legal status of castrated or impotent freedman in matters of marriage, adoption, and inheritance.

The conclusions are threefold. First, Justinian I's codification, with its choice of legal precedents complemented with new laws, influenced the legal language concerning castration. Secondly, when legislators established laws regarding castration, there is a great variety of views on the status of castrated men, the aim of castration and its definition. Finally, at least legal sources focus on basic physical features of castrated men such as genital injury or impotency, rather than on their social role as court eunuchs, which has received most attention in the research hitherto.

### INTRODUCTION

Predominantly starting in the fourth century, Roman emperors employed eunuchs or castrated men as chamberlains (*cubicularii*) in the imperial court, a practice that continued into the Byzantine era. Some of the most powerful eunuchs holding the office of grand chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*) personally influenced the emperor and played an important political role at court.<sup>1</sup> Eunuchs were, however, also present elsewhere in Roman society. Although some were freedmen, most were slaves, such as foreigners employed as domestic servants by wealthy people. Even some clerics or monks were castrated men.<sup>2</sup>

This article aims to examine comprehensively all legal sources for castration and castrated men as codified during the reign of Justinian I (527-565).

<sup>1</sup> This article is developed on the basis of my Japanese article 紺谷由紀「ローマ法における去勢—ユスティニアヌス一世の法典編纂事業をめぐって」『史学雑誌』125-6 (2016), 1-36. Regarding the political roles played by court eunuchs, scholars such as J.E. Dunlap, R. Guiland and K. Hopkins produced splendid works: Dunlap (1924) 161-324; Guiland (1943) 197-328; Hopkins (1963) 62-80 (= Hopkins (1978) 178-196). In the twenty-first century, a new approach from the perspective of gender studies has become dominant, and the eunuchs have been examined as a 'third gender': Kuefler (2001); Ringrose (2003).

<sup>2</sup> Guyot (1980) 52-68; Sidéris (2001); Harper (2011) 43-44, 105-106.

This will clarify how in the later Roman Empire eunuchs and castration were perceived by Roman legislators: emperors, their judicial officers such as the quaestor of the sacred palace (*quaestor sacri palatii*), and lawyers. Despite the frequency of clauses addressing castration in Roman legal documents (Table 1 and Table 2), previous scholars have not sufficiently

Table 1: *Digesta*

	Source	Terminology	
<i>Dig.</i> 1.7.2.1	Gaius	<i>Institutes</i> , book 1	<i>spado</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 1.7.40.2	Modestinus	<i>Distinctions</i> , book 1	<i>spado</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 9.2.27.28	Ulpian	<i>Edict</i> , book 18	
<i>Dig.</i> 21.1.6	Ulpian	<i>Curule Aediles'</i> <i>Edict</i> , book 1	<i>spado</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 21.1.7	Paul	<i>Sabinus</i> , book 11	<i>spado</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 21.1.38.7	Ulpian	<i>Curule Aediles'</i> <i>Edict</i> , book 2	
<i>Dig.</i> 23.3.39.1	Ulpian	<i>Edict</i> , book 33	<i>spado/castratus</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 24.1.60.1	Hermogenian	<i>Epitome of Law</i> , book 2	
<i>Dig.</i> 27.1.15	Modestinus	<i>Excuses</i> , book 6	σπάδων
<i>Dig.</i> 28.2.6	Ulpian	<i>Sabinus</i> , book 3	<i>spado/castratus</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 28.2.9	Paul	<i>Sabinus</i> , book 3	
<i>Dig.</i> 37.14.6.2	Paul	<i>Lex Aelia Sentia</i> , book 2	<i>castratus</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 39.4.16.7	Marcianus	<i>Delatores</i> , book 1	<i>spado</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 40.2.14.1	Marcianus	<i>Rules</i> , book 4	<i>spado/castratus</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 48.8.3.4	Marcianus	<i>Institutes</i> , book 14	
<i>Dig.</i> 48.8.4.2	Ulpian	<i>Duties of proconsul</i> , book 7	
<i>Dig.</i> 48.8.5	Paul	<i>Duties of proconsul</i> , book 2	<i>thlibias</i>
<i>Dig.</i> 48.8.6	Saturninus	<i>Duties of proconsul</i> , book 1	
<i>Dig.</i> 48.8.11	Modestinus	<i>Rules</i> , book 6	
<i>Dig.</i> 49.16.4	Arrius Menander	<i>Military Law</i> , book 1	
<i>Dig.</i> 50.16.128	Ulpian	<i>Lex Iulia et Papia</i> , book 1	<i>spado/thlibias</i> / <i>thlasias</i>



Table 2 : *Codex Justinianus, Institutiones, and Novellae*

	Emperor	Date	Terminology
<i>CJ</i> 5.62.1	Septimius Severus etc.	204	<i>spado</i>
<i>CJ</i> 4.42.1	Constantine I	307-337	
<i>CJ</i> 6.22.5	Constantius II	352	<i>eunuchus</i>
<i>CTh</i> 16.5.17	Valentinian II etc.	398	<i>spado</i>
<i>CJ</i> 4.42.2	Leo I	457-473	
<i>CJ</i> 12.5.4	Leo I	467/468	<i>eunuchus</i>
<i>CJ</i> 5.17.10	Justinian I	528	
<i>CJ</i> 7.7.1.5	Justinian I	530	<i>eunuchus</i>
<i>CJ</i> 6.43.3.1	Justinian I	531	<i>eunuchus</i>
<i>Inst.</i> 1.11.9	Justinian I	533	<i>spado/castratus</i>
<i>Nov.</i> 22.6	Justinian I	535	
<i>Nov.</i> 133.5	Justinian I	539	εὐνοῦχος
<i>Nov.</i> 142	Justinian I	558	

R. MAYR (ed.), *Vocabularium codicis Iustiniani*, 2 vols., Prague 1923-1925; R. AMBROSINO, *Vocabularium Institutionum Iustiniani Augusti*, Milano 1942; D. DALLA, *L'incapacità sessuale in diritto romano*, Milano 1978; A.M. BARTOLETTI COLOMBO & G.G. ARCHI (eds.), *Novellae, pars Latina, Indices*, Milano 1979; A.M. BARTOLETTI COLOMBO & G.G. ARCHI (eds.), *Novellae, pars Graeca, Indices*, Milano 1984; Instituti Saviniani Fundatum (ed.), *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae Romanae*, 5 vols., Berlin 1964-1987.

studied these passages, partially because of their diversity, and partially because of their long time span from the first to the tenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> Only the evidence from select documents has been connected with information from non-legal sources. The majority of these clauses, however, were included in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, codified by order of Emperor Justinian I. Although each decree's individual context should be considered, the combination of

<sup>3</sup> An exception is the study of Dalla (1978), who collected several legal clauses concerning castrated/impotent men, but did not consider the question from the view of legislators. The *Codex Theodosianus* and *Codex Justinianus* included details regarding imperial civil servants who are considered by scholars to have been eunuchs, such as the grand chamberlain (*CTh* 6.8 = *CJ* 12.5.1, 7.8.3, 7.8.16, 11.16.15 = *CJ* 10.48.12, 11.18.1 etc.). However, these clauses, except *CJ* 12.5.4, do not explicitly mention eunuchs.



clauses promulgated in the sixth century should also be studied as fruits of the Justinianic codification. Such a study will elucidate the various roles of eunuchs in the Empire.

The *Corpus* is composed of four legal collections: *Codex Justinianus* (*Codex* or *CJ*, 529/534), *Digesta* (*Dig.*, 533), *Institutiones* (*Inst.*, 533) and *Novellae* (*Nov.*, late sixth century).<sup>4</sup> These legislative projects re-organised a massive number of old imperial constitutions and excerpts from the juristic literature of the classical period. The *Codex* collects imperial constitution promulgated from the reign of Hadrian until the enforcement of its revised edition in 534. The *Dig.* gathers opinions of jurists. The commission of the *CJ* and the *Dig.*, composed of law professors, high officials, and prominent practitioners under the chairmanship of Tribonianus, also left out or changed some of the legal texts. The *Inst.* are intended as an elementary textbook, based on several *Institutiones* of classical jurists, mainly Gaius, but also partly reflecting the reforms introduced by Justinian. Finally, the *Nov.* contains many of Justinian's laws enacted after 534 that had not been included in the other compilations.

In what follows, I will look at the legal status of castrated men in these legal documents and compare it to that of slaves and freedmen. I will also examine changes in Justinian I's legislation about eunuchs and discuss why the emperor or his officers revised certain clauses. The *Corpus* collected and valued previous legal authority but it also deleted what was obsolete or contradictory, and promulgated new decrees in response to contemporary matters. It is therefore important to elucidate the background of these modifications, to understand more clearly how the emperor and his committee perceived eunuchs and castration and how they addressed problems. In particular, I focus on two categories of clauses in the *Corpus*: the prohibition of castration of slaves in the empire and adoption by castrated freedmen.

#### DEFINITION AND TERMINOLOGY: *SPADO* AND *CASTRATUS*

##### *Types of genital disability*

In the ancient world, there were various types of genital disability, sometimes arbitrarily referred to as 'castration' and 'impotence'. 'Castration' implies the removal of the male genitals, especially the testicles. The

<sup>4</sup> Kearley (2010) 377-397; Kaiser (2015) 128-140.

removal of the penis was probably rare because of health risks. The seventh-century physician Paul of Aegina mentions two methods of castration for children: compression and excision of the testes.<sup>5</sup> Castration at an early age can be related to the sale of slaves, but the origin of castrated slaves or the reason for their castration often remains unclear in literary sources.<sup>6</sup> Castration was not only performed on children but also on those who had already reached puberty.<sup>7</sup> Self-castration can have religious motives: a well-known example in Imperial Rome is the ritual of the priests of Cybele and Attis.<sup>8</sup> According to Christian writers, self-castration could be a radical form of corporal asceticism<sup>9</sup>. Men of various ages could also be subjected to castration, however, as a result of medical procedures or accidents. As for sexual potency, it is difficult to determine whether castrated men could have sexual intercourse. It may have been possible, if the penis was not amputated and if the men were castrated after puberty.

‘Impotence’, on the other hand, is a more comprehensive term. It can refer to the absence of sexual power in the sense that someone is unable to copulate; or to male infertility in the sense of being incapable of reproduction. Although possible causes of impotence include castration, other disabilities could play a role as well: congenital defects to the penis or testes; or temporary or even chronic inability to obtain an erection as the result of disease, trauma, or certain types of poisoning.<sup>10</sup>

### *Terminology in legal sources: spado and castratus*

The terms for eunuchs in legal and literary sources vary,<sup>11</sup> and were used without strict distinction by ancient authors to describe castrated men. The genre of sources certainly played a role, and the usage in legal contexts may be distinct from that of other sources. To understand

<sup>5</sup> Tougher (2008), 30; Messis (2014) 40-45. Paul. Aeg. 6.68.

<sup>6</sup> A famous example is Eutherius who was a grand chamberlain of Julian. Born in Armenia of free parents, he was kidnapped by hostile tribesmen who gelded him. After he had been sold to Roman traders, he was brought to Constantine's palace (Amm. 16.7.5). When the birthplaces of eunuchs were referenced in the sources, they were generally eastern regions outside of the Empire, such as Armenia and Abasgi: Tougher (2013) 48-50.

<sup>7</sup> Dio Cassius (76.14.4-5) describes the case of Plautianus, who castrated not only boys or youths but also grown men with wives, in order to make them attendants or teachers for his daughter. This may be an exception, however.

<sup>8</sup> Beard (2012) 323-362.

<sup>9</sup> Caner (1997) 396-415.

<sup>10</sup> Sidéris (2001) 12-19, 29-30.

<sup>11</sup> Maas (1925) 432-476; Guyot (1980) 20-24; Sidéris (2001) 11-12; Messis (2014) 31-40.

castration under Roman law, this section presents a *status quaestionis* for the terminology and definitions found in legal sources.

Five terms can be translated as ‘eunuch’: *castratus* / καστράτος, *eunuchus* / εὐνοῦχος, *spado* / σπάδων, *thlasias* / θαλάσιος and *thlibias* / θλιβίας. The ambiguity of the Latin word *spado* is challenging, and especially the distinction between *spado* and *castratus* in the *Dig.* is problematic. *Spado*, derived from σπάω, was primarily used to refer to castrated or otherwise genitally mutilated men in non-legal sources;<sup>12</sup> *castratus*, from *castro*, invariably designated castrated men. Since in *Dig.* 1.7.2 and 28.2.6, *spadones* are “those who cannot father children”, the term also refers to a type of impotency in legal texts. In certain legal clauses using both *spado* and *castratus* there is a clear distinction: according to Ulpian in *Dig.* 23.3.39.1, *spado* referred to impotency in general and *castratus* (a castrated man) was a subordinate category of *spado*;<sup>13</sup> *Dig.* 28.2.6 and 40.2.14 do not provide enough information to define each word. Scholars have stated that *spado* referred to non-castrated impotent men, whereas *castratus* referred to castrated men.<sup>14</sup> The meaning of *spado* must be judged carefully according to the context of each clause because it has subtle differences in meaning, namely (i) all impotent men (whether castrated or not), (ii) castrated men and (iii) non-castrated impotent men (but only when used in combination with the word *castratus*).

*Dig.* 50.16.128 offers another distinction based on the manner of castration: *thlibias* and *thlasias*, derived from θλίβω and θλάω, arguably both referred to men whose genitals were damaged by compression rather than by excision.<sup>15</sup>

Terminology also differs between the opinions of jurists in the *Dig.* and the laws of emperors in the *Codex*. The word *spado* only appears in a single third-century decree in the *Codex*,<sup>16</sup> and is later replaced by *eunuchus* for a castrate man. The verb *castrare* was also replaced with *facere eunuchus*.

Theophilus, a law professor in Constantinople, wrote a Greek summary of and commentary on the *Inst.* in 534 entitled *Paraphrasis Institutionum*, in which he explained that the word εὐνοῦχος was a general term meaning impotence. He put forth three categories: σπάδων, καστράτος and θλιβίας.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Scholten (1995) 55-65.

<sup>13</sup> *Dig.* 23.3.39.1.

<sup>14</sup> Dalla (1978) 160-161. Cf. Sidéris (2001) 26.

<sup>15</sup> Dalla (1978) 47-49; Messis (2014) 40-45.

<sup>16</sup> *CJ* 5.62.1.

<sup>17</sup> Theoph. *Inst.* 1.11.9.

Through the introduction of the word εὐνοῦχος, Theophilos redefined σπάδων as non-castrated impotent men, unlike the meaning of *spado* in Latin; θλιβίας referred to men who had part of their genitals accidentally crushed by their nurses or mothers; and καστράτος designated men whose genitals were mutilated on purpose. Theophilos certainly provided clearer definitions for the different types of impotency. Since the *Inst.* was an elementary law textbook for students, however, the terminological ambiguity may have compelled him to these precisions in the first place.

## SLAVES AND CASTRATION

### *The value of castrated slaves*

According to Roman legal principles, a slave was the property of his or her master and did not have any legal rights. Castrated slaves therefore occur more frequently as merchandise or property in legal sources than as participants in legal procedures. Interestingly, the value of slaves may have increased through castration. *Dig.* 39.4.16.7 lists Indian eunuchs (*spadones Indici*) as one of the luxury items on which an import tariff was charged, suggesting that castrated slaves were traded at a higher price. *Dig.* 9.2.27.28 states that the third-century BC *Lex Acuilus*, addressing certain types of damage to other people's property, did not apply to the castration of young male slaves because castration increased rather than decreased the value of the slaves.<sup>18</sup>

In contrast, *Dig.* 21.1.6-7 seems to consider castration as a flaw (*morbus / vitium*). *Dig.* 21.1, which concerns the *edictum aedilium curulium*, enumerates the opinions of classical lawyers regarding a vendor's accountability to a vendee in a case of a defect in merchandise. It establishes that if a vendor intentionally concealed a defect in the goods from a vendee, the latter was permitted to dissolve the transaction. In *Dig.* 21.1.6-7, lawyers discuss whether or not the fact that a slave was a *spado* could be considered as a defect, but they distinguished two different types of *spado*. Ulpian considers a *spado* unflawed but healthy "as much as he who, having one testicle, is capable of procreation".<sup>19</sup> That he introduced the subject of procreation

<sup>18</sup> For the physical attractiveness of eunuchs, see Tougher (2013) 48-72.

<sup>19</sup> *Dig.* 21.1.6.2 *Spadonem morbosum non esse neque vitiosum verius mihi videtur, sed sanum esse, sicuti illum, qui unum testiculum habet, qui etiam generare potest* (translation A. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, 2 vols., Philadelphia 1998). *Dig.* 49.16.4 also refers to free citizens, stating that a man born with one testicle or having lost one could lawfully serve as a soldier.

suggests that Ulpian's *spado* was not a castrated man. As an impotent but non-castrated man, a *spado* with at least one testicle might someday be able to procreate. In his discussion of the condition of livestock in *Dig.* 21.1.38.7, Ulpian states that unlike castrated humans, castrated mules could be considered healthy, because they could fulfill their roles as pack animals. A *spado* was therefore healthy, in contrast to a castrated human. However, Paul said in 21.1.7 that a *spado* who "lacks a necessary part of his body", i.e. a castrated slave, was diseased.<sup>20</sup> As Dalla and Sidéris suggested, these clauses indicate that the castration of slaves was considered an illness or defect, but that the condition of the non-castrated *spado* was not.<sup>21</sup>

To consider the castration of slaves as a defect is at first sight inconsistent with the presence of castrated slaves in the Empire and with the aforementioned clauses stating that castrated slaves were highly valued. Nevertheless, the nature of the *edictum aedilium curulium* needs to be taken into account. Only when a vendor concealed the actual condition of the merchandise (e.g., slaves or livestock) from a vendee, and sold it as healthy whereas in reality it had a defect, would he be punished. In fact, Ulpian explains that the edict did not apply to cases where the defect was obvious.<sup>22</sup> Since not all castrated slaves were regarded as having a defect, however, *Dig.* 21.1 is not the only standard that applies. The castration of slaves had to be reported because some vendees considered this as an illness or defect of the slave. Since there was some demand for rare castrated slaves, transactions involving these slaves could take place freely, and even at a high price, with the consent of the vendee.

This practice continued until the reign of Justinian I, whose legislation highly valued castrated slaves.<sup>23</sup>

### *The prohibition of castration before the reign of Justinian I*

The aforementioned legal clauses suggest that castrated slaves existed in Roman society and were a topic of discussion among classical lawyers.

<sup>20</sup> *Dig.* 21.1.7 *ut tam necessaria pars corporis et penitus absit* ... Gellius mentions that Labeo ruled that a eunuch could be returned as diseased if the purchaser did not know that the slave was a eunuch. Gell. *NA* 6.2.6-7 *De eunucho quidem quaesitum est, an contra edictum aedilium videretur venundatus, si ignorasset emptor eum eunuchum esse. Labeonem respondisse aiunt redhiberi posse quasi morbosum.*

<sup>21</sup> Dalla (1978) 141-148; Sidéris (2001) 37-39.

<sup>22</sup> *Dig.* 21.1.1.6.

<sup>23</sup> *CJ* 6.43.3.1, 7.7.1.5. Whereas male or female slaves were valued at 10 to 60 *solidi*, the value of castrated slaves was 30 to 70 *solidi*.

In spite of employing eunuchs in their courts, however, Roman emperors repeatedly promulgated decrees to prohibit castration within the Empire. An examination of these decrees is necessary to understand legislators' perceptions of castration and castrated men.

These prohibitory laws have attracted attention from scholars in various fields, studying eunuchs, Roman law, or slaves. According to some, they reflected a hostile attitude toward castrated men and were promulgated with the intention of expelling them.<sup>24</sup> The employment of eunuchs could be reconciled with the prohibition against castration by assuming a conscious effort of the emperors to limit the sources of castrated slaves to importation from outside the empire.<sup>25</sup> The effects of the laws seem to have been transient, and their repeated promulgation proves that the castration of Roman citizens or slaves continued to be practiced widely throughout imperial society.<sup>26</sup> Scholars of Roman slavery have claimed that the prohibitions applied to the castration of slaves only and aimed at restricting violence of masters against their slaves, comparable to e.g. expulsion of sickly slaves or forced prostitution.<sup>27</sup>

The present article re-examines the prohibitions promulgated from the reign of Domitian to that of Justinian I. It reviews past interpretations critically by asking whether these decrees aimed to get rid of castrated men altogether or were limited to the castration of slaves only. I propose another explanation for the reasons why Roman legislators, especially Justinian I and his legal codifiers prohibited castration. In doing so, I attempt to clarify their perception of castration and castrated men.

Domitian (r. 81-96) was the first emperor to prohibit castration, though this promulgation is only attested in literary sources. According to the second-century historian Suetonius, the emperor banned castration and controlled the price of *spadones* (castrated men) who were in the hands of slave traders.<sup>28</sup> This prohibitory decree was known to exist in the late empire because Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote his *Res Gestae* in the fourth century, mentioned it when he denounced eunuchs in the court of Constantinus II.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Guiland (1943) 199-200; Dalla (1978) 112.

<sup>25</sup> Scholten (1995) 30; Tougher (2002) 144; Tougher (2008) 64.

<sup>26</sup> Kuefler (2001) 32; Sidéris (2001) 46-52.

<sup>27</sup> Buckland (1908) 37; Rotman (2004) 232-234; Gardner (2011a) 432.

<sup>28</sup> Suet. *Dom.* 7.1. The Roman advocate and rhetorician Quintilian (*Inst.*, 5.12.17-18) suggests that slave-dealers castrated boys in order to increase the attractions of their beauty: Tougher (2013) 66-67.

<sup>29</sup> Amm. 18.4.5.

After Domitian, the interdicts in the early Empire were compiled in the *Dig.* (section 48.8). A *lex* entitled *Ad legem Corneliam de sicariis et veneficis* was enacted by Sulla to prevent assault in 81 BC, but was later applied to various crimes and retained legal force even during Justinian I's reign. The oldest clause specifically regarding castration preserved in Justinian's codification was a senatorial edict probably enacted in 97 during the reign of Nerva, which stated that half the property of those who handed over slaves to be castrated would be confiscated.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the masters or slave traders who requested the castration of the slaves would be penalised.

Ulpian cited a rescript of Hadrian, preserved in *Dig.* 48.8.4.2, stipulating (unlike 48.8.6) that the punishment for those who castrated was confiscation of all property, or even death when performed by slaves. Remarkably, this decree referred to the castration of both slaves and freeborn men. Since slaves were in principle not allowed to denounce their masters, and since the emperor permitted those who had been castrated by force to make a complaint to the proconsul, this legislation may have assumed that at least some victims were freeborn men.<sup>31</sup> In the last part, the clause specifically mentions those who volunteered to be castrated and sets forth the death penalty for surgeons and their clients. Nevertheless, castration could still be performed for medical or religious reasons.

Finally, in *Dig.* 48.8.3, the third-century lawyer Marcian refers to a senatorial edict of unknown date listing castration as one of the crimes covered by the *Lex Cornelia*. The penalty to be inflicted on offenders would no longer always consist of deportation to an island and confiscation of property. This punishment would be reserved for "more honourable

<sup>30</sup> *Dig.* 48.8.6. Regarding the date of this edict, see Dalla (1978) 84-86; Sidéris (2001) 46-48.

<sup>31</sup> *Dig.* 48.8.4.2. *Idem divus Hadrianus rescripsit: 'Constitutum quidem est, ne spadones fierent, eos autem, qui hoc crimine arguerentur, Corneliae legis poena teneri eorumque bona merito fisco meo vindicari debere, sed et in servos, qui spadones fecerint, ultimo supplicio animadvertendum esse: ...plane si ipsi, qui hanc iniuriam passi sunt, proclamaverint, audire eos praeses provinciae debet, qui virilitatem amiserunt: nemo enim liberum servumve invitum sinentemve castrare debet, neve quis se sponte castrandum praeberere debet. at si quis adversus edictum meum fecerit, medico quidem, qui exciderit, capitale erit, item ipsi quis se sponte excidendum praebuilt'.* *Dig.* 48.8.5 is also an edict of Hadrian, stipulating that those who created a *thlibias* were punished in the same way as those who castrated. Only few literary sources indicate that free citizens were castrated: Dalla (1978) 71-73. There were some examples of castration for adulterers: Val. Max. 6.1.13; Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.44-46.

persons” (*honestiores*), whereas “humbler persons” (*humiliores*) would be executed by wild animals. Since only those who castrated a man “for lust or for gain” (*libidinis vel promerci causa*) would be punished, the application of the law clearly depended on motive. The provision is thus probably more tolerant than that of Hadrian.<sup>32</sup> The phrase ‘for gain’ also suggests that those who were castrated were probably slaves, although the lawyer did not mention their legal status.

All clauses forbidding castration in the *Dig.* were preserved under the rubric *Ad legem Corneliam de sicariis et veneficis*. This suggests that legislators or codifiers viewed castration as a crime equal to murder or injurious assault. There is no mention of the treatment of ‘victims’ of castration: only the castrators’ punishment is addressed, and there is no intention of excluding castrated men from the empire. Since the legislation by the emperors Claudius, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius attempted to penalise a master’s offences against slaves,<sup>33</sup> the prohibition of castration might have been promulgated with the same intent.<sup>34</sup> As mentioned above, however, the subjects included both slaves and freeborn men, which rather suggests that, regardless of the victim’s status, lawyers and emperors considered castration a crime similar to murder or injurious assault.

Decrees made after the fourth century were collected in the *Codex* and promulgated by Constantine I and Leo I (*CJ* 4.42.1-2). Although the *Codex* contains a chapter on the *Lex Cornelia*,<sup>35</sup> its prohibitory decrees are in the chapter entitled *De eunuchis*. Addressed to the *dux* of Mesopotamia Ulsinus, the first edict of Constantine I may have been promulgated for a specific case near the empire’s border. It stipulated that those who castrated a slave should be punished by death; the penalty for the accomplice who provided a location was confiscation of his slaves and of the property where the castration had taken place.<sup>36</sup>

*CJ* 4.42.2 contains a fragment of legislation promulgated during the reign of Leo I. Previous clauses simply prohibited castration within the empire regardless of the victim’s origin. This law, in contrast, declared

<sup>32</sup> Dalla (1978) 98. Paulus, *Sent.* 5.23.13 shows a similar clause.

<sup>33</sup> *Dig.* 1.6.1-2; *CJ* 7.6.1.3.

<sup>34</sup> Watson (1987) 115-133; Borkowski & du Plessis (2005) 94-95; Gardner (2011) 432-436.

<sup>35</sup> *CJ* 9.16.

<sup>36</sup> *CJ.* 4.42.1 *mancipio tali nec non etiam loco, ubi hoc commissum fuerit domino sciente et dissimulante, confiscando.*



that “Romans” (*Romanae gentis homines*) castrated on barbarian or Roman soil could not be owned by anyone. The most serious punishment (*poena gravissima*), i.e. death, was imposed on those who dared to maintain ownership, on notaries who drew up the documents for such transactions and on officers who collected relevant taxes. The law permitted anyone, however, to own and trade barbarian eunuchs who had been castrated outside the empire.

Unlike the *Dig.*, this new clause in the *CJ* primarily addressed victims and their enslavement by punishing those who owned castrated Romans and participated in their trade.<sup>37</sup> There is also a difference in context: the headings in *CJ* 4.41, *Quae res exportari non debeant* and in *CJ* 4.43, *De patribus qui filios distraxerunt* make clear that the *Codex* treated castration from a commercial point of view. Imperial edicts codified in the *Codex* after the fourth century thus also addressed the topic of the prohibition of castration, but in contrast with the *Dig.* legislators did not focus on the aspect of murder or injurious assault. Rather, they focused on the problem of the servitude of castrated ‘Romans’, i.e., the treatment of victims after castration.

#### *Slaves and castration in the legislation of Justinian I: Nov. 142*

Toward the end of Justinian I’s reign (558), the emperor promulgated *Nov. 142*, a new prohibitory decree on castration, which was addressed to the *comes rei privatae* Martanes. Unlike the aforementioned provisions, which were merely extracts, *Nov. 142* provides a nearly complete text of the decree. It is therefore a rich source of information for the context of the prohibition and for legislators’ perceptions of castration. Previous scholars have, however, paid insufficient attention to its distinctive character and have considered it simply one of a series of prohibitions in the wake of the decree of Leo I.<sup>38</sup> This section re-examines the content of *Nov. 142*, discusses the alterations in the wake of Justinianic codification, and studies the relation between this and the previous decrees.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Romans’ probably refers to the freeborn citizens in the empire, as the decree does not stipulate that castrated slaves became free, despite the provisions ordering this: e.g. *Dig.* 40.8.2 (*competit libertas*); *CJ* 1.10.1 (*libertate donando*), 4.56.1 (*libertate competente*), 7.6.1.3 (*in libertate latina antea morabatur*).

<sup>38</sup> Buckland (1906) 602-607; Dalla (1978) 100-112; Melluso (2000) 104-111.

To understand the aim of the legislation, the identity of the individual for whom the decree was issued is significant. The decree of *Nov. 142.1* is addressed to Martanes and stipulates that men who castrated others would be punished by the mutilation of their genitals; their property would be confiscated “by your [Martanes’] office” (τὴν τῆς σῆς ἐνδοξότητος ἀνύοντος ἀρχήν); and they would be permanently banished to Gypsus, perhaps a mine in Egypt.<sup>39</sup> Women who performed castrations would be punished by confiscating their property and issuing a permanent banishment, again “by your office”. These stipulations suggest that one of the aims of this decree was to confirm or instate the official who was responsible for carrying out the law. It was the *comes rei privatae*, in charge of financial affairs in the Empire, who was to punish the perpetrators.<sup>40</sup>

As background information, the preface of *Nov. 142* refers to the previous decrees prohibiting castration:

The punishment prescribed by our predecessors against those who dare to make eunuchs are sufficiently clear to everyone. Nevertheless, certain persons, not having their own salvation in view, have recently ventured to commit this unholy offence, on account of which certain of them have undergone the penalties which they deserve, and others, after having been punished, have been condemned to exile.<sup>41</sup>

The decree goes on to note the prevalence of castration in the empire, despite many related decrees. Moreover, the author stresses that death is often the final result of castration: “of ninety who have been castrated, hardly three have escaped with their lives”.<sup>42</sup> The decree further states “for if our laws punish those who strike others with a sword, how can we look the other way and let murders of this kind, which are both offences against God and the law, be committed with impunity?”<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *RE*, ‘Gypsus’. If it is a toponym rather than the generic “a gypsum quarry”, its modern equivalent is unknown.

<sup>40</sup> Delmaire (1989) 75-80.

<sup>41</sup> *Nov. 142. pr.* Αἱ παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν βεβασιλευκότων ὀρισθεῖσαι τιμωρίαι κατὰ τῶν εὐνουχίζειν τολμώντων πᾶσι δῆλαι τυγχάνουσιν. ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες καταφρονούντες τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας ἐτόλμησαν ὅλως πρὸ φανεροῦ χρόνου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀσεβὲς ἀμάρτημα διαπράξασθαι, διὰ τοῦτό τινες μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀξίας δεδῶκασιν ποινάς, ἕτεροι δὲ μετὰ τὸ τιμωρηθῆναι καὶ ἐν ἐξορίᾳ ἐπέμψθησαν.

<sup>42</sup> ὡς διαφόρως ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγους περισωθῆναι, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὅτι καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν περισωθέντων ἐπ’ ὧσιν ἡμετέραις κατέθεντο, ὅτι ἀπὸ ἐνενήκοντα μόλις τρεῖς περισώθησαν...

<sup>43</sup> εἰ γὰρ οἱ ἡμέτεροι νόμοι τοὺς ξίφος κατὰ τινος σύροντας τιμωρίαις ὑποβάλλουσι, πῶς ἔχωμεν παριδεῖν οὕτως ἀδεῶς γινομένους φόνους, καὶ πρᾶγμα γινόμενον ἐναντίον τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων νόμων;

To clarify the relation between *Nov.* 142 and the previous clauses, it is necessary to determine to which decree the promulgator refers when he mentions the penalty imposed by preceding emperors. Obvious candidates are the decrees of Constantine I and Leo I, which were promulgated closest in time to *Nov.* 142. Banishment, however, was not included in the penalties imposed by these two decrees, but it is imposed in the *Lex Cornelia*. The focus on death resulting from castration and the comparison of castration to murder clearly indicates that the legislator was referring to the decrees collected in the *Dig.* and prohibited this practice for the same reason, i.e. because castration was a type of violation.

Following the preface and the penal provisions, the penalty for castrators' associates who provided a slave or a location for the castration was stipulated, as in *Dig.* 48.8.6 and *CJ* 4.42.1. Elements of *CJ* 4.42.2 are repeated in *Nov.* 142.2: castrated men should never become slaves; and those who planned to own or trade them would be punished by the same penalty as those who castrated. *Nov.* 142.2 referred to those castrated in the Empire, however, rather than to 'Romans' castrated within and outside of the empire. The edict of Justinian thus unexpectedly reflected the provisions of the earlier clauses, especially those of the *Dig.* For that reason, *Nov.* 142 should be considered as a crystallisation of the relevant legislation compiled during the Justinian reign and not as a mere repetition of the decrees of Constantine I or Leo I.

While *Nov.* 142 shared some prohibitions with the *Dig.* and the *Codex*, the generous gift of freedom to castrated men is new. Although addressed both to freeborn men and to slaves, *Nov.* 142.2 begins with the statement that castrated men should have been freed from ancient times (*ἀπὸ παλαιότερων χρόνων*). Therefore, the emperor declared that those who were castrated in the empire after the legislation was passed would become free and would not be subordinate to anyone else. In spite of the reference to 'ancient times', the provision that all those castrated in the empire became free is unprecedented. Admittedly, the punishment of whoever was involved in a transaction dealing with a castrated man partly reflected *CJ* 4.42.2 with Leo I's order that 'Romans' who were castrated within or outside the Empire would not be owned by anyone. Also, in *CJ* 12.5.4, Leo I had already prescribed that all slave chamberlains, including eunuchs, were rendered free and free-born (*ad libertatis ingenuitatisque*) when they were given to the imperial chamber. These restorations of free status to castrated Romans and of privileges to the court eunuchs were, however, strikingly different from Justinian I's

emancipation of castrated slaves regardless of their origin, their status before castration or their role.<sup>44</sup> In addition, *Nov.* 142 prescribed that even if the men castrated were slaves, they were permitted — having become freedmen through their castration — to make a complaint to the emperor, the patriarchs or imperial officials in Constantinople, or to bishops or officers in the provinces. This assured that the masters were punished and that the slaves would again be granted their freedom. Unlike *Dig.* 48.8.4.2, which merely permitted victims to make a complaint to the proconsuls, *Nov.* 142 thus declared that slaves who were castrated would automatically obtain their freedom and obtain justice, in spite of the fact that, theoretically, slaves could not denounce their masters. Perhaps difficulties with such a denunciation in the *Dig.* were the reason why Justinian I dictated the emancipation of castrated persons.

Another issue is raised by the detailed regulations in *Nov.* 142 regarding castration caused by illness, equally related to the granting of freedom. Although *Dig.* 48.8.4.2 punished surgeons and their clients who wished to be castrated voluntarily, *Nov.* 142 permitted a doctor to castrate his patient, whether a slave or a free man, for medical reasons. Remarkably enough it is also stated that if the patient was a slave, he would be granted his freedom.<sup>45</sup> According to a study on Roman slaves, an order to manumit one's slaves was a sanction against masters who treated their slaves badly.<sup>46</sup> Castration as a cure was, however, considered proper treatment rather than murder or injury. This method of granting freedom can therefore not be interpreted as a penalisation of the masters, indicating that this grant in *Nov.* 142 was distinct from previous clauses. It is based on the principle that slaves castrated in the empire would receive their freedom regardless of the reason for their castration.

The grant may also have been influenced by changes in the legal treatment of slaves in the late empire. As Harper explains, there were fewer references to slaves, and contemporary observers no longer systematically reported that slavery played a fundamental role in the society of the late Empire, especially after the late fifth century. In his analysis of

<sup>44</sup> For *CJ* 4.42.2, see n. 37.

<sup>45</sup> *Nov.* 142.2. εἰ μέντοι διὰ πάθος συμβῇ δοῦλον εὐνουχισθῆναι, κάκεινον κελεύομεν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τυγχάνειν· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι πάθει ὡς εἰκὸς τοιούτῳ περιπίπτοντες ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν ἂν θέλωσι θεραπείαν ἑαυτοῖς προσάγειν. Castration for medical reasons occurs in some sources from the sixth and seventh centuries, such as the *Miracles of St. Artemios* and Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* 10.15.

<sup>46</sup> Buckland (1908) 37; Rotman (2004) 232-234; Gardner (2011a) 432.

slavery during Justinian I's reign, Melluso indicates that slaves only tended to be used in domestic service in cities.<sup>47</sup> Justinian I's decrees concerning slaves paradoxically equally suggest the decline of slavery. For example, *Inst.* stated that all persons were born free according to natural law and that slavery was considered against the laws of 'nature'.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, Justinian I's edicts, which frequently stated that he longed for the freedom of his subjects, ordered that the servitude of free citizens should be prevented and slaves should be manumitted in various conditions.<sup>49</sup> It is true that slaves still existed after his reign, even in the Byzantine Empire, and slaves clearly did not lose all importance. The compilation and new promulgation of legislation during Justinian I's reign, however, suggest improvements in the legal status of slaves as compared to the early Empire. Such tendencies may well have influenced the provisions that established the generous granting of free status for castrated slaves.

In conclusion, legislators punished those who performed castrations because they regarded castration as murder or injurious assault and also feared that free citizens could become slaves after castration. The prohibition was indeed perhaps partially aimed at restricting the violence of slave masters, as these were punished when they castrated slaves. Clauses regarding the castration of freeborn men, however, urge for caution.

These decrees certainly did not support hostile attitudes toward or hatred against castrated men, nor did they aim at expelling them from the empire. On the contrary, decrees such as *Nov.* 142 permit slaves to become free on the moment of castration. Legislators thus held two different positions regarding castration and castrated men: (1) the practice of castration was severely punished because of risk of causing injury or death; (2) castrated men were not punished, because they were considered victims. How can this prohibition then be reconciled with recruiting eunuchs? There were after all still castrated men in the empire, even after the prohibitory decrees, and emperors continued to receive them into the imperial court, even if they were castrated within the Empire.

<sup>47</sup> Harper (2011) 505-506; Melluso (2000) 296-298.

<sup>48</sup> *Inst.* 1.2.2.

<sup>49</sup> Melluso (2000) 230, 287-291, 296-298. *CJ* 6.27.5.1d, 7.7.2.2, 7.15.1.3; *Nov.* 22.8, 54, 78.4.1, 89.9.

## LEGAL RIGHTS OF CASTRATED AND IMPOTENT MEN

*Freedmen and castrated men*

The position of castrated men in Roman society can be better understood by examining their legal rights. Dalla, Guyot and Gardner have focused on castrated ex-slaves rather than on slaves without legal rights.<sup>50</sup> The relationship between the legal status of these men as ex-slaves and their physical condition was, however, not examined in detail. This section looks at the legal rights of castrated men in terms of marriage, adoption and the execution of a will.

Though freedmen had some legal rights, they were divided into certain categories.<sup>51</sup> Only those who were manumitted through means suitable under Roman law could theoretically acquire Roman citizenship; others, according to the Augustan reform, could not acquire Roman citizenship and their rights were restricted. The latter were referred to as Junian Latins and *dediticii* even in the late Empire. For the purposes of this article, the discussion of legal rights under Roman law focuses on freedmen holding Roman citizenship.<sup>52</sup>

The components of citizenship were *commercium*, *concupium* and *testamenti factio*. There was discussion about the right of freedmen to marry, especially for women. Under Augustus, female ex-slaves were prohibited from marrying senators or their sons, but in general marriage was permitted and male freedmen could enjoy patriarchal power through marriage and through fathering children.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, they could adopt sons based on their paternal rights.<sup>54</sup> As compared with freeborn citizens (*ingenui*), however, the rights of freedmen were limited with respect to testamentary law because their patrons asserted inheritance rights. If freedmen died intestate and had no heir, their patrons succeeded to their property. Even if they executed a will, as introduced by *Inst.* 3.7, the praetorian edict ordered them to leave half of their property to their

<sup>50</sup> Dalla (1978) 267; Guyot (1980) 66-67; Gardner (1998a) 154-155; Gardner (1998b) 145; Gardner (2011) 424.

<sup>51</sup> Borkowski & du Plessis (2005) 92-93, 97-112.

<sup>52</sup> Although the notion of Roman citizenship became more ambiguous in late antiquity, especially after the *Constitutio Antoniana*, it still seems to have had some impact: Garnsey (2004) 133-155. Concerning the problem of barbarian citizenship, see Mathisen (2012) 744-763.

<sup>53</sup> Nathan (2000) 31-33.

<sup>54</sup> Gardner (1998a) 155.

patrons. The *Lex Papia* also stipulated that, according to the amount of property and the number of children, their patrons succeeded to a certain share of their property. Therefore, ex-slaves were certainly restricted in executing a will, but they were permitted to become a *pater familias*.

Could castrated or impotent men enjoy their legal rights in terms of gender and maturity? Due to their genital mutilation, contemporaries often described castrated men as belonging to a 'third gender' or as being 'neither male nor female' and thus emphasising their 'unmanliness'.<sup>55</sup> In legal texts, however, lawyers did not doubt the gender of a eunuch as male, although *Dig.* 1.5.10 discussed the androgyne. Therefore, it is likely that without referring to their reproductive ability, castrated and impotent men were considered male because their sex was fixed when they were born.<sup>56</sup> Regarding maturity, it was necessary to reach puberty to enjoy legal rights. Classical lawyers argued over the criteria to establish this, some considering the development of the reproductive organs as sufficient and others emphasising reaching a particular age (14 for males, 12 for females).<sup>57</sup> If the former criterion was adopted, castrated and impotent men faced the risk of not being considered as having reached puberty because of their impotency. However, Paulus's *Sententiae* stated the *spadones* reached puberty at the age of 18, thus indicating that age was also permitted as a criterion for maturity.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the fact that Justinian officially abolished screening the appearance of boys and girls to judge their sexual maturity indicates that all castrated and impotent men could be judged as having reached puberty only when they reached a certain age.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, if they had Roman citizenship and reached a specific age, even castrated and impotent men could enjoy legal rights.

The *Dig.* discussed the legal rights of castrated and impotent men with respect to marriage and adoption. Rather than considering their status (freeborn / freedmen / slaves), lawyers distinguished between *spado* and *castratus*. Apparently they treated castrated men as belonging to the same category as impotent men.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> For the beardlessness or high-toned voice of those who were castrated, especially before puberty: Tougher (2008) 32-35.

<sup>56</sup> Dalla (1978) 207-212; Gardner (1998a) 145-148; Gardner (1998b) 141-143.

<sup>57</sup> Gai. *Inst.* 1.196.

<sup>58</sup> Paulus *Sent.* 3.4a.1.

<sup>59</sup> *CJ* 5.60.3; *Inst.* 1.22.

<sup>60</sup> The edict of Septimius Severus also did not permit the exemption of a *spado* from becoming a tutor, meaning that impotent and castrated men could take charge of tutelage (*Dig.* 27.1.15; *CJ* 5.62.1). Dalla (1978) 191-199. Strictly speaking, this is not a right, however.

When it comes to marriage, it was essential for Ulpian whether a *spado* was castrated or not: a *castratus* could not get legally married.<sup>61</sup> Marcian concluded that *spadones* could manumit a female slave for marriage, but not *castrati*.<sup>62</sup> Since *castrati* could own and manumit slaves, lawyers thus presumably excluded the *castratus* from marriage.<sup>63</sup> This inability to marry, however, might be a favorable ‘exemption’ rather than an undesirable ‘restriction’, since *Dig.* 50.16.128, which defined certain types of *spadones*, was likely a part of Ulpian’s *Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam*. In this, Augustus promulgated that people, especially those belonging to senatorial families, had to marry or remarry and punished those who did not marry or father children,<sup>64</sup> with an age limit of 50 years for males and 60 years for females. Dalla indicates that this obligation to marry was related to the reproductive capacity of individuals: Ulpian would have mentioned the *spado* to exempt them from this obligation.<sup>65</sup> This interpretation may be dubious, however. Was the *lex* still valid after the reign of Augustus, and was it still in vigour until Constantine I abolished it in *CJ* 8.57.1-2? Was the obligation applied even to freedmen? Nevertheless, classical lawyers believed that non-castrated impotent men were permitted to marry and were also exempt from marriage obligations. For castrated men, a legal marriage was impossible, and as such they did not violate *Lex Iulia et Papia* in any case.

The *Dig.* addressed adoption by a *spado* only, not by a *castratus*. In *Dig.* 1.7.2.1 and *Gai. Inst.* 1.103, Gaius wrote that a *spado* who could not reproduce could adopt in two ways: *adrogatio* (adoption of those who were *sui juris*) and *adoptio* (adoption of those who were under the power of their parents).<sup>66</sup> Modestinus said the same regarding a *spado* in *Dig.* 1.7.40.2.<sup>67</sup> Scholars have discussed whether or not *spadones* included castrated men, but even unmarried men were permitted to adopt according

<sup>61</sup> *Dig.* 23.3.39.

<sup>62</sup> *Dig.* 40.2.14.1.

<sup>63</sup> Dalla (1978) 271-272; Gardner (1998b) 144-145.

<sup>64</sup> *Dig.* 50.16.128. *Spadonum generalis appellatio est: quo nomine tam hi, qui natura spadones sunt, item thlibiae thlasiae, sed et si quod aliud genus spadonum est, continentur.* “The name of eunuch is a general one; under it come those who are eunuchs by nature, those who are made eunuchs, and any other kind of eunuchs”.

<sup>65</sup> Dalla (1978) 255-263; Gardner (1998b) 140.

<sup>66</sup> *Dig.* 1.7.2.1. *Illud utriusque adoptionis commune est, quod et hi qui generare non possunt, quales sunt spadones, adoptare possunt.*

<sup>67</sup> *Dig.* 1.7.40.2. *Spado adrogando suum heredem sibi adsciscere potest nec ei corporale vitium impedimento est.*



to *Dig.* 1.7.30.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, Gaius' explanation of a *spado* as one "who could not reproduce" did not distinguish between castrated and non-castrated men. It seems, therefore, that impotent men, including castrated men, could adopt.<sup>69</sup>

In *Dig.* there are few opinions of ancient lawyers regarding the right to execute a will.<sup>70</sup> The *Codex* provides an explanation, however. *CJ* 6.22.5, sent to the praetorian prefect Rufinus during the reign of Constantius II in 352, permitted castrated men (*eunuchus*) to execute a will.<sup>71</sup> Leo I also mentioned the inheritance of such men in *CJ* 12.5.4, which mainly focused on granting free status to slaves given to the emperor as court servants. The emperor emphasised that he had already manumitted such slaves when he received them: as such, he would permit them to execute a will and claim the right of intestacy. The text then goes on to describe these slaves as *eunuchus*.<sup>72</sup> Leo I or his drafters therefore seem to have confirmed that eunuchs and slaves given to the imperial court became free and could execute a will.

To sum up, evidence shows that castrated men could not get married by law but could adopt children and execute a will. Impotent men, however, were permitted by lawyers to legally engage in all three activities. Why were the *spadones* and the *castrati* distinguished in their legal

<sup>68</sup> Dalla (1978) 171-176; Gardner (1998a) 148-155; Gardner (1998b) 139-144, also discussing the interpretation of *Dig.* 28.2.6 about the *postumus* heir of a *spado* and a *castratus*.

<sup>69</sup> Gardner (1998a) 148-155; Gardner (1998b) 139-144.

<sup>70</sup> One exception is the provision about the institution of children born after the death of the testator (*postumi*) as heirs. Ulpian introduced the discussion of jurists about whether someone who cannot easily father children can make a *postumus* heir. *Dig.* 28.2.6. He mentioned that a *castratus* cannot institute a *postumus* as heir. The case of a *spado* is more problematic. According to Ulpian, both Labeo and Cassius wrote that an impotent person (*spado*) is capable to do so, because neither age nor sterility is an impediment. On the other hand, Paul mentioned in *Dig.* 28.2.9 that a previous will was broken if a person instituted as heirs *postumi* whom his age or ill-health might have made it impossible to have. In any case, these provisions indicate that *spadones* and *castrati* could execute their will if they instituted the right person as an heir.

<sup>71</sup> In terms of non-castrated, impotent men, Diocletian and Maximian accepted the demand of Rodonus, promulgating that even though the evidence of virility had not yet appeared, his cousin made a legally valid will after he passed his fourteenth year. *CJ.* 6.22.4.

<sup>72</sup> *CJ* 12.5.4.2-3. *Sed testamenta quidem ad similitudinem aliorum, qui ingenuitatis infulis decorantur, pro sua liceat eis condere voluntate: intestatorum vero nemo dubitet facultates utpote sine legitimis successoribus defunctorum fisci viribus vindicari. Haec omnia tunc diligenti observatione volumus custodiri, cum sponte suaque voluntate quis dederit eunuchum sacri cubiculi ministeriis adhaesurum.*

abilities, even though *spadones* were considered unable to reproduce like castrated men? Court eunuchs were trusted by the preceding emperor Elagabalus, and as a result Ulpian, as Alexander Severus' praetorian prefect, may have perceived them negatively, therefore restricting the legal ability of castrated men or eunuchs.<sup>73</sup> These clauses, however, may not represent a negative view. In my opinion, the distinction between the *castratus* and the *spado* solely depended on whether or not the man was castrated. In determining their legal rights, it is not the role of castrated men but the damage to their genitals that was important for classical lawyers.

The legal rights of castrated freedmen were restricted both because they were freedmen (e.g. regarding inheritance) and because they were *castrati* (e.g. when it came to marriage). Previous studies have not taken status into account when examining the abilities of the *castratus* or the *spado*, which may have created a somewhat optimistic picture of the legal abilities. Moreover, not all castrated freedmen could obtain Roman citizenship and gain the aforementioned rights, even if they were manumitted.

*The problem of adoption by castrated men in the Inst.*

As mentioned above, the codification that took place in the sixth century influenced the promulgation of new laws prohibiting castration. This section examines the new aspects of the legal rights of castrated men, especially regarding adoption. I argue that during Justinian I's reign the 'improvements' in a slave or freedman's legal and social status influenced the legal definition of castrated men.

In 533, the year that Justinian I promulgated the *Dig.*, he also established the *Inst.*, a collection to be used as a textbook of Roman law. One of the revisions (*Inst.* 1.11.9) concerned an adoption made by a *spado*: 'then, the things which both modes of adoption have in common is that even those who cannot have children of their own, for example, *spadones*, can adopt. However, *castrati* cannot adopt'.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Dalla (1978) 265-272 bases this opinion on the descriptions of the *Historia Augusta* (*Alex. Sev.* 23.4-8) where Alexander reduced eunuchs to a limited number and removed them from all duties in the palace except for the care of women's baths. Gardner (1998b) 145-146 rejects this.

<sup>74</sup> *Inst.* 1.11.9. *sed et illud utriusque adoptionis commune est, quod et hi, qui generare non possunt, quales sunt spadones, adoptare possunt, castrati autem non possunt.*

The difference from previous clauses is evident. With regard to a *spado*, *Inst.* 1.11.9 is identical to *Dig.* 1.7.2.1 and *Gai. Inst.* 1.103. As noted above, these only referred to the *spado* and permitted castrated men to adopt. However, Justinian I's *Inst.* explicitly added the *castrati*, prohibiting them from adopting. The emperor or the legal codifiers seem to have had some intention of clarifying the distinction between a *spado* and a *castratus*, namely the distinction between a non-castrated, impotent man and a castrated man.

The aforementioned *Paraphrasis Institutionum* of Theophilos, one of the legal codifiers of the *Inst.*,<sup>75</sup> can perhaps elucidate the motivation behind this brief clause. Theophilos in his commentary uses εὐνοῦχος as a general term for 'impotency' and distinguished three categories: σπάδων, καστράτος and θλιβίας. As a man who was prevented from begetting children by some derangement or illness, the σπάδων could adopt in Theophilos' view because he could theoretically father children in the future if his genital disorder was cured. A θλιβίας, however, whose testicles had been crushed, or a καστράτος, who had been castrated, should according to him not be able to adopt because they had no possibility of fathering children in the future.

In the first half of his commentary, Theophilos, as a lawyer, explained that one of the reasons why a θλιβίας and a καστράτος could not adopt was that "law follows nature, which did not permit them to father children".<sup>76</sup> Accordingly, he specifically discussed whether or not impotent men might regain their reproductive ability. The Latin word *spado* of *Inst.* 1.11.9 thus corresponds to Theophilos' σπάδων, and *castratus* corresponds to θλιβίας and καστράτος. This parallelism shows that it was the possibility of fathering children in the future that distinguished a *spado* from a *castratus*. Whether or not a man's genitals were damaged was thus a crucial physical feature.

The relation between the recovery of the man's reproductive ability and his legal status is also found in legislation enacted during Justinian

<sup>75</sup> Theoph. *Inst.* 1.11.9. Ἐζητήθη εἰ ἄρα εὐνοῦχος δύναται υἱοθετεῖν. καὶ λέγομεν ὅτι ὁ μὲν καστράτος καὶ ὁ θλιβίας οὐ λαμβάνουσιν εἰς θέσιν οὐδὲ αὐτεξούσιον παρὰ βασιλέως, οὐδὲ ὑπεξούσιον παρὰ ἄρχοντος. οἷς γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἠρνήσατο τὸ παιδοποιεῖν, τούτοις καὶ ὁ νόμος κατὰ πόδα βαδίζων τῆς φύσεως· ἀνέλπιστα γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς παιδοποιΐας. ὁ δὲ σπάδων ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον ἐλπὶς εἰκὸς τοῦ πάθους ἀπαλλαγέντα δύνασθαι παιδοποιεῖν, εἰς θέσιν λήψεται καὶ ὑπεξούσιον καὶ αὐτεξούσιον (translation J.H.A. Lokin [et al.] (eds.) & A.F. Murison (transl.), *Theophili antecessoris Paraphrasis Institutionum*, Groningen (2010), 90).

<sup>76</sup> Dalla (1978) 163-170; Sidéris (2001) 35.

I's reign, both concerning adoption and divorce. *CJ* 5.17.10, promulgated in 528, permitted a wife or her *pater familias* to dissolve a marriage if the husband refused sexual relations for two years due to his natural weakness. This provision presumably applied to the non-castrated *spado*.<sup>77</sup> Before the early Empire, no rule concerning a divorce existed and couples could divorce freely when both partners agreed. Hermogenian suggested in *Dig.* 24.1.60.1 that divorce often happened because the husband entered the priesthood or because of sterility (*sterilitatem*). In the later Roman period, however, under the influence of Christianity, legislators tended to restrict free divorce.<sup>78</sup> In that context, *CJ* 5.17.10 offered one of the exceptions permitting divorce. Therefore even a *spado*, who was allowed to marry, could be restricted in his rights if his wife intended to dissolve the marriage after the two-year period. Nevertheless, this two-year period was probably not established to restrict the *spado*'s right to marry but rather served as a grace period to prevent excessive divorces. In 536, after this edict was enacted, Justinian I promulgated another law extending this two-year period to three years because there was a possibility that the couple might have children even after two years.<sup>79</sup> Legislators clearly considered the possibility of a *spado* recovering his reproductive ability, as made explicit in Theophilos' commentary.

The clause regarding the *castratus* was thus probably included in *Inst.* 1.11.9 because legislators, including the emperor, needed to clarify the distinction between a *spado* and a *castratus*: the former's legal status was confirmed in accordance with the possibility of his fathering children in the future. The words *eunuchus*, *spado* and *castratus*, even as defined in Greek, referred to both castrated and non-castrated, impotent men; no clear line was drawn between them. Therefore, it was perhaps not a social issue whether or not a particular impotent man was castrated, and the word *spado* was used in a broad sense to refer merely to impotence, even in legal sources. As Theophilos' detailed explanation indicates, however, the codification by Justinian I did not disregard such discordance and ambiguity in terminological usage and rights. Although it cannot be affirmed whether it redefined the word εὐνοῦχος or merely confirmed the current definition, *Inst.* 1.11.9 improved on the ambiguous clauses in the *Dig.* regarding a *spado*'s ability to adopt. It established additional

<sup>77</sup> Sidéris (2001) 31-34.

<sup>78</sup> Borkowski & du Plessis (2005) 128-130.

<sup>79</sup> *Nov.* 22.6.

restrictions upon a *castratus*, whose genitals were physically damaged, and emphasised the possibility of recovered fertility.

Why did the emperor or members of the codification committee need to clarify these differences? Perhaps the *Inst.* were influenced by changes concerning the status of freedmen in Justinian's legislation. His codification not only collected previous legal opinions and legislation but also abolished obsolete clauses and promulgated new provisions. For the status of freedmen, for example, Melluso highlights remarkable changes resulting from the abolishment of the distinctions between different types mentioned above.<sup>80</sup> All emancipated slaves seem to have been accepted as Roman citizens during Justinian's reign, regardless of the manumission procedure. Moreover, the emperor encouraged granting freedom to ex-slaves by closing a status gap between freedmen and *ingenui*.<sup>81</sup> A distinction between the two certainly existed in *Inst.* 1.3.5., but later in his reign, *Nov.* 78 promulgated in 539 gave all manumitted persons "the right to wear a golden ring" (*ius anuli aurei*). This made them practically *ingenui*, especially with regard to holding public office. Although some obligations to their patrons remained, Justinian I's legislation decreased the differences between freedmen and freeborn citizens.<sup>82</sup> These improvements blurred the distinctions with respect to Roman citizenship, at least in the legal sphere. They may also have increased the number of people who enjoyed legal status as stipulated under Roman law. Freed castrated men could now also become Roman citizens or *ingenui* and thus subject to these stipulations of Roman law. Thus, I suggest that when they revised *Inst.* and promulgated new decrees, the emperor and his imperial officers or legal codifiers felt the need to consider the status of these freed, castrated or impotent men. It was because of this need that the definitions of *castratus* and *spado* were reconsidered and more detailed rules regarding their legal status under Roman law were demanded.

## CONCLUSION

This article has attempted to clarify the views of legislators toward castration and castrated men. Legal clauses from the first through the sixth

<sup>80</sup> *CJ* 7.5.1, 7.6; *Inst.* 1.5.3; *Nov.* 78. Melluso (2001) 78-85, 124-127, 292.

<sup>81</sup> Borkowski & du Plessis (2005) 106-107, Melluso (2000) 127-133, 295.

<sup>82</sup> *CJ* 6.4.3; *Inst.* 3.7; *Nov.* 117.

century were relevant considering two aspects: legal status and the changes that occurred during the sixth-century codification.

Firstly, new legislation for eunuchs seems to have been influenced by the improvements in the legal status of slaves and freedmen during the codification by Justinian I. Eunuchs should therefore be studied as an integral part of Roman society as it developed in the later period. The traditional theory is that eunuchs were nearly all slave servants of foreign origin, and as such isolated in the empire. But rather than studying them in isolation, the castrated men's relationships with other categories of people should be considered, to more deeply understand eunuchs and, in turn, the later Roman Empire.

The second point concerns the various views on castration or castrated men when laws regarding the matter were established, e.g. their status, the aim of castration or its definition. According to the legal sources, castration could also be performed on freeborn men, although it was intimately connected to slaves. Genital mutilation, whether voluntary or involuntary, was treated as murder or injurious assault and as a crime that made free citizens into slaves. For slaves, castration could be an element that added value or a defect, or, in exceptional circumstances, a medical treatment. Castrated men were defined as those who suffered from impotence through genital injury. In addition, especially during the reign of Justinian I, their irrecoverable loss of reproductive capacity became the focus of attention, stressing the fact that they would never have their own children. Castrated men, either freeborn or ex-slaves, were therefore deprived from certain legal rights. Previous scholars have emphasised the role of castrated men as court eunuchs, against which contemporary literary sources show considerable prejudice. The legal documents considered in this study did not connect castrated men with this group and their negative image. In contrast, these sources suggested that emperors accepted their existence in the Empire, even though castration was prohibited under Roman law.

In this way, legal sources probably reflected the diversity of eunuchs who were present in later Roman society. Certainly, court eunuchs developed remarkably during that time: their presence in higher positions of authority in the imperial administration may even have had some influence over imperial legislation. It seems to have been their physical status rather than their social roles, however, that was truly important in defining castrated men: castrated men were treated as equal to impotent men and castration was presumed to be caused by illness. Castration was a

phenomenon that was not restricted to the imperial court only, but extended broadly across imperial society. Although the laws do not accurately reflect the contemporary situation, they are valuable sources to examine eunuchs within the larger context of society.

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